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SEVENTEENTH
NATIONAL CONVENTION
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

MAY 12-14, 1928

PROCEEDINGS NATIONAL CONVENTION SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY 1928

SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

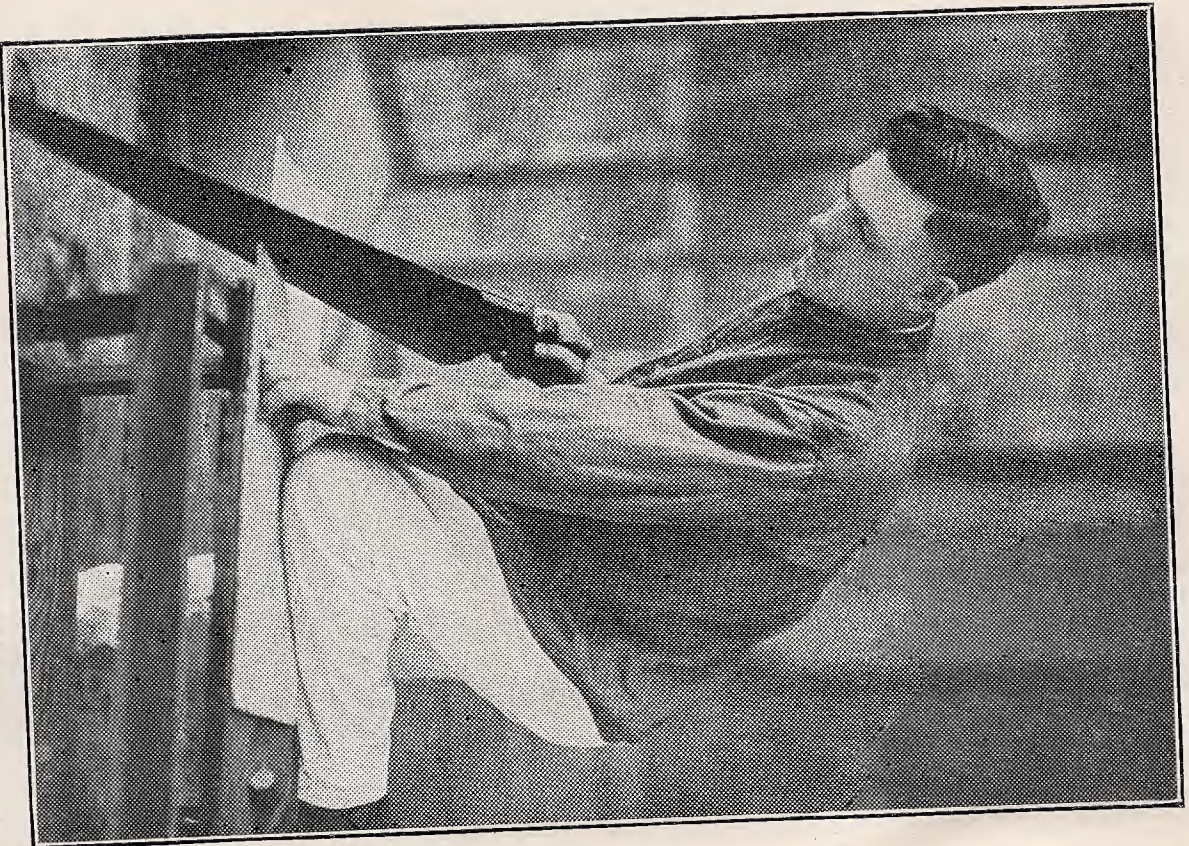
May 12-14, 1929

Minutes, Reports, Resolutions, Platform, Etc.



Published 1929
National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
45 Rose Street
New York

FRANK T. JOHNS, WORKINGMAN



FRANK T. JOHNS

When the 1928 National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party assembled, the selection of standard-bearers for the coming campaign was as a matter of course on the order of business. And, almost also as a matter of course, the minds of the delegates turned to the excellent team of candidates, Frank T. Johns and Verne L. Reynolds, who had served the Party in the 1924 campaign. When it was learned that, however reluctantly—the S. L. P. candidacy being all work and no festivities, with perhaps serious difficulties of securing a job when the battle is over—both had consented to serve again, it might be said that nothing remained but the formality of the official nomination.

Johns and Reynolds!

Johns who in the previous campaign had by a few weeks' practice sprung into the front ranks of teachers of working class economy and social science, honored and eagerly listened to by all who came within hearing distance of his voice, no matter what their walk in life!

Reynolds, the agitator par excellence, the exhorter, whose voice and sincerity were able to arouse the dulllest of his audience!

The delegates were delighted; S. L. P. members and friends were happy indeed as the message from the convention spread through the country.

The convention adjourned on May 14. The candidates prepared to start their tours almost at once.

Johns, a citizen of Portland, Oregon, made his first date at Bend, Oregon, Sunday afternoon, May 20.

On Monday a terrible message brought gloom, almost terror, to every S. L. P. member and sympathizer throughout the land. While Johns was answering questions at the close of his lecture in a park at Bend on the banks of the Deschutes River, the cries arose that a boy was drowning. The agonized screams for help of the mother were heard from the other side of the river. Without a moment's hesitation Comrade Johns threw off his coat, jumped from the S. L. P. presidential platform into the churning, icy currents of the Deschutes, beat his way to the boy and was swimming with him toward the shore when his strength gave out, only a short distance from safety. With his last ounce of strength he attempted to push the boy—Charles Rhodes, 11, of Bend—to shore, was seized by the currents and drowned as was also the boy.

There is no need at this time and place to elaborate on the heroism of our beloved comrade and honored standard-bearer, except to emphasize once more the note that was the central one in every tribute paid to Frank T. Johns in the hundreds of messages and memorial addresses after the tragedy—*Johns did not have to die to prove himself a hero; he had lived the life of a hero as a fearless champion of the working class of America.*

It is altogether fitting, however,

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THE SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

May 1928

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

that we should include in this introduction to the Report of the Convention Proceedings the beautiful lines written in John's honor and memory by Robert Whitaker of California:

INVICTUS.

(The tragedy at Bend, Oregon, Sunday, May 20, 1928.)

"The river asks not whether boy, or man;
Nor of what consequence the one may rate
Named for the highest office of the state;
Nor how the censure or the credit ran.
This hour, the Thinker, spokesman for the van
Of human progress; and the next, the fate
To struggle vainly, lending help too late,
To miss the crown of conquest by a span.
Nor less serenely flows the choking stream
That wrecks so easily the human dream,
Nature immaculate with unconcern!
Yet man the victor still, that though he fails
His dream by failure but the more prevails;
And wider ranges larger meanings learn."

It may also be recorded that in due time the Carnegie Commission voted John's family the Hero Medal

in his memory and set aside a certain yearly stipend for the education of his two daughters until the youngest is sixteen years old.

The chapter of John was closed. We could mourn but it was useless to rebel; we knew that John had acted true to himself and to his fellow men to his last breath; we could scarcely even dare to regret, for it would almost be to wish that John had been another than the noble man he was.

Moreover, the heads bent in sorrow had to be held up in the struggle for working class emancipation. The great gap left in the ranks by the departure of John had to be filled—as best we could. The campaign was on. It could not stop; it must not lag.

At the session of the N. E. C. Subcommittee, acting as a committee on vacancies, May 22, 1928, Verne L. Reynolds was placed on our ticket as the candidate for President, taking the place of John. On June 7 Jeremiah D. Crowley of Syracuse was nominated as Vice-President, taking the place thus vacated by Reynolds.

The Party roused itself and carried on a truly splendid campaign, each and all feeling that by our efforts we were also paying a worthy tribute to him who had been the Party's chosen standard-bearer in the campaign of 1928.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

New York, April 1929.

of the

Morning Session, Saturday, May 12.

Convention called to order at 10:45 a. m. by National Secretary, Arnold Petersen. Comrade John D. Goerke of Ohio was nominated as temporary chairman, and elected by acclamation. Comrade F. N. H. Lang of Maryland was elected vice-chairman. Comrade Upton A. Upton of Oregon was elected by acclamation as temporary secretary.

A Committee on Credentials was elected as follows: Peter McDermott of Rhode Island; Theodore Baeff of Bulgarian Federation; E. T. Middlecoff of Missouri.

A recess of ten minutes was declared that this committee might examine the credentials of the delegates and report.

The Credentials Committee submitted the following statement, having examined the credentials:

"Dear Comrades:
I am submitting herewith a list of the States and Federations entitled to representation at the 17th national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, with a list of the delegates:

California, entitled to one delegate (sending no delegate).

Connecticut, one delegate, A. H. Gierginsky.

Illinois, one delegate, Frank Schmur (not present).

Iowa, one delegate, H. Svendsen.

Indiana, one delegate (sending no delegate).

Maryland, one delegate, F. N. H. Lang.

Massachusetts, one delegate, Fred E. Oelcher.

Michigan, one delegate, Paul Dinger.

Minnesota, one delegate (sending no delegate).

Missouri, one delegate, E. T. Middlecoff.

New Jersey, one delegate, Joseph Yannerelli.

New York, three delegates, Henry Kuhn, Olive M. Johnson, Adolph Silver.

Ohio, one delegate, John D. Goerke.

Oregon, one delegate, Upton A. Upton.

Pennsylvania, one delegate, William Krucyyna.

Rhode Island, one delegate, Peter McDermott.

Washington, one delegate (sending no delegate).

Wisconsin, one delegate, S. Raack.
Bulgarian Federation, entitled to eleven delegates, sending seven: Theodore Baef, D. Panooff, D. Stancheff, Theodore Gramaticoff, S. S. Saralief, S. Strevsky, I. K. Pasternadjieff.

Hungarian Federation, four delegates: Frank Zerman, Alex Kudlik, Joseph Mackay, Chas. Bustya.
Scandinavian Federation, two delegates: Alfred Johnson, Otto Nelson.

South Slavonian Federation, seven delegates: Nicolas Stanich, Kate Manojlovich, Peter Slepceovich, L. Petrovich, Milos Malencich, Steven Crnovich, Roy Albin.

Faternally submitted,
Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary."

The committee recommended that the foregoing be seated as delegates to the convention. Moved and seconded that this report be accepted as read.

Committee on Rules was elected consisting of the following: Gramaticoff, Bulgarian Federation; Adolph Silver, New York; L. Petrovich, So. Slavonian Federation.

A recess of twenty minutes was declared for this committee to prepare its report.

The Committee on Rules recommended for adoption the following order of business and rules:

1. Organization.
 - a. Election of chairman, vice-chairman and secretary.
 - b. Election of a permanent sergeant-at-arms and a messenger.

2. Election of Committee on Mileage.

3. Report of the National Executive Committee.

4. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

5. Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

6. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

7. Election of Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions pertaining thereto.

8. Election of Auditing Committee.

9. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature.

10. International Socialist Movement.

11. National Campaign.

12. Roll Call of Delegates for the Introduction of Resolutions for Reference to Committees.

The committee further recommends that the following order of business be used for each day after the first day:

1. Election of Chairman.

2. Roll Call of Delegates.

3. Reading of Minutes.

4. Communications.

5. Reports of Committees and Action Thereon.

6. Unfinished Business.

7. New Business.

8. The last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.

9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. Evening sessions if necessary.

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Nomination of candidates for United States President and Vice-President to take place the second day of the convention. Election of National Secretary of the Party and Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE to take place on the second day of the convention. Reports of delegates to be rendered the second day of the convention.

Comrade Johnson amended report of this committee as follows: "That the report of the Platform Committee be called for immediately after the election of candidates and officers." The amendment was carried. The report of the Committee on Rules was carried as amended.

The motion was made and carried that the temporary officers be made permanent for the day.

Upton A. Upton was elected permanent secretary of the convention by acclamation upon motion. Comrade Beckwith of Rhode Island was elected assistant secretary by acclamation.

Klevans was elected sergeant-at-arms. Denner was elected messenger.

The Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: Mackay, A. Silver, E. Middlecoff.

The next order of business was the report of the National Executive Committee. As this was a lengthy report the motion was made and carried that the convention adjourn until the afternoon session to meet at 2 p. m.

Adjournment at 11.45 a. m.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, May 12

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Goetke at 2.15 p.m. Roll call. Comrade Nelson of the Scandinavian Federation was absent.

Minutes of the morning session were read and amended, and adopted as amended.

Report of the National Executive Committee to the 17th National Convention was read by National Secretary Arnold Petersen. Motion made and carried that the report of the National Executive Committee be received and the parts requiring action be turned over to the various committees concerned.

Comrade Olive M. Johnson read her report as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Motion made and carried that the report be received.

It was moved and carried that the report of the Mileage Committee be laid over until the next session.

A committee to consider the proposed amendments to the constitution was elected as follows: H. Kuhn, Theodore Baef, L. Petrovich.

A committee on Platform and Resolutions was elected consisting of the following members: Olive M. Johnson, Paul Dinger, F.N.H. Lang.

A Committee on Party Press and Literature was elected consisting of the following members: Adolph Silver, Theodore Gramaticoff, Joseph Yannerelli.

A Committee on the International Socialist Movement was elected consisting of the following members: John D. Goetke, S. S. Saralief, Milos Malencich.

A Committee on the National Campaign of 1928 was elected consisting of the following members: William Kruczynna, S. Raack, Peter McDermott.

A Committee on the Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization was elected consisting of the following members: A. H. Gieginsky, N. Stanich, Steven Crnovich.

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An Auditing Committee was elected consisting of the following members: Joseph Mackay, Peter Slepcevic, Frank Zeman.

Adjournment at 8.15 p. m. until Sunday morning, May 13, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session Sunday, May 13.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m. Henry Kuhn was elected as the chairman of the day. Paul Dinger was elected as vice-chairman. Smilansky was elected temporary sergeant-at-arms.

Roll call—Absent: Frank Schuur of Illinois, Alex Kudlik and Charles Bustya of the Hungarian Federation.

Minutes of the Saturday afternoon session, May 12, were read and accepted as read.

Communications: Letter of greeting from the Bulgarian Group of Toledo, Ohio, was read and filed.

The report of the Mileage Committee regarding the mileage paid to delegates was read and accepted as read. It was moved and seconded that the balance left in the Mileage Fund be turned into the National Campaign Fund. Motion lost.

Report of the Campaign Committee recommended the adoption of the plan as laid down by the National Secretary. The committee recommended further that the WEEKLY PEOPLE publish the amount collected for the week, and in addition the grand total to date. The report was accepted as read.

The report of the Committee on Platform was accepted as read.

The Auditing Committee reported that all accounts of the National Office had been audited by certified public accountants and found correct. The report was accepted as read.

The report of the Committee on International Socialist Movement was accepted as read. (See Appendix C.)

Adjournment at 12.15 p. m.

Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 13.

Meeting called to order at 2.08 p.m. Roll call of delegates—Absent: Alex Kudlik and Chas. Bustya of the Hungarian Federation, and Otto Nelson, Scandinavian Federation.

Minutes of the morning session read and approved as read.

Motion made and carried that nominations of presidential candidates now be proceeded with. Frank T. Johns was unanimously nominated by the convention as our presidential candidate. Verne I. Reynolds was nominated as the vice-presidential candidate, the choice being unanimous.

The election of Party officers followed. Arnold Petersen was unanimously reelected National Secretary. Olive M. Johnson was unanimously reelected as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions recommended to the convention that the following resolutions be adopted:

Resolution on Capitalist Imperialism. (See Appendix D.)

Resolution on Unemployment. (See Appendix E.)

Resolution on the State of the Coal Industry. (See Appendix F.)

Resolution on Capitalist Corruption and Capitalist Ferocity. (See Appendix G.)

Resolution on Labor Banks, Labor Insurance Schemes, Labor Stock Ownership and "Cooperative Movements." (See Appendix H.)

Resolution on War Preparations

Amid Universal Declarations of Peace. (See Appendix I.)

These resolutions were adopted by the convention.

The report of the Committee on Party Press and Literature was accepted as read.

Report of the Party Press and Literature Committee.

"In line with recommendation of the N. E. C. report to the 17th national convention, we recommend:

"That the plan of entertainments held by Sections and Branches for the benefit of the WEEKLY PEOPLE should be carried on and encouraged to greater activity as it promises to develop into a still better means of financial support to the paper. Sections and Language Federation Branches are urged to pay special attention to this work.

"The plan of following up expired subscriptions by Sections should be persisted in as it is an excellent method of keeping and educating the new readers of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. The members are urged to cooperate to the fullest extent possible, as this form of activity is the most direct method of building our Party organ.

"We recommend that the report of the N. E. C. in connection with the indexing and publishing of Daniel De Leon's editorials be carried out to its completion as planned by the N. E. C.

"We recommend that special effort should be made to publish an S. L. P. edition of Marx's 'Capital.' It is worthy of all efforts to be able to supply this basic work of Socialism by the S. L. P., independent of mercenary concerns and freak 'authors' and 'editors'.

"We concur in the work so far done on the De Leon editorials on Ultramontanism. These editorials will be a powerful weapon against the forces that are now rising and getting ready for the coming campaign. As it is only a pamphlet we concur in the N. E. C. plan and advise that it be one of the first pamphlets to be put on the press for the coming campaign.

"We also concur in the work so far done in the collection of De Leon's Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan dialogues, the cartoons by Sidney Armer and the preparation of Lewis H. Morgan's 'Montezuma's Dinner,' and advise that they be published as soon as the facilities of the Party permit.

"We further recommend that the part of the N. E. C. report to the 17th national convention dealing with Party discipline be published as a separate pamphlet for free distribution to the membership."

A telegram was received from Frank T. Johns accepting nomination. A telegram of greetings was received from Comrade Brezbrodica of Long Island City.

A recess of ten minutes declared for rest.

The report of the Committee on Attitude of the Party to Economic Organization was read and accepted as read. (See Appendix B.)

The Committee on Constitution recommended that the convention concur in the constitutional changes proposed by the National Executive Committee. The report of the committee was adopted. (See pp. 24-33.)

Note: Under Article V, Section 14, the chair ruled that the present N. E. C. Sub-Committee consisting of

fifteen members be continued until May 1929. If vacancies occur no action will be taken to fill them unless the membership falls below eleven. Delegate Otto Nelson asked to be excused from further attendance.

Adjournment at 5:25 p. m. until 10 a. m. Monday, May 14.

Morning Session, Monday, May 14.

Meeting called to order at 10:25 a. m. Gramaticoff was elected chairman. Silver vice-chairman. Weinberger was elected sergeant-at-arms pro tem.

At roll call the following delegates were found absent—Hungarian Federation: Frank Zerman, Alex Kudlik, Chas. Bustya; Scandinavian Federation, Otto Nelson (excused).

The minutes of the Sunday afternoon session were read and corrected. Accepted as corrected.

Communications: Check of \$300 received from the South Slavonian Federation for the National Campaign Fund. Comrade Baef announced a contribution of \$2,000 from the Bulgarian Federation for the Campaign Fund.

The Committee on Constitution made a supplementary report. It recommended the following to be substituted for present sections:

"Art. II, Sect. 19.

"Members-at-large residing in States that have no State Executive Committee, but where one or two Sections exist, shall be attached to such Section or Sections as out-of-town members.

"Applicants for membership-at-large shall be admitted by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and then transferred to whatever Section the Sub-Committee may decide."

"Art. IV, Sect. 1.

"When in any State there are three Sections in three different towns or cities, the National Office shall initiate a move for effecting the formation of a state organization to be known as the State Executive Committee by appointing one who is a member of one of the three Sections to call for nominations for State Secretary which nominations shall be submitted to the N. E. C. for approval. When the State Secretary is elected, he shall proceed to conduct the nominations and election of a State Executive Committee. It shall be the duty of such committee to conduct systematic agitational work within its jurisdiction, form new Sections, and maintain close contact with all Sections and members-at-large in the state."

It was moved and carried that the N. E. C. Sub-Committee act as a committee on vacancies for the presidential nominees.

Roll call of delegates for their reports on the conditions in their localities. The following delegates reported at this session:

A. H. Gierginsky for Connecticut.
H. Svendsen for Iowa.

F. N. H. Lang for Maryland, as follows:

"Maryland, with its one Section at Baltimore, has undergone some of the vicissitudes incident to the general depression which has sent so many workers wandering from place to place in the effort to earn a livelihood. It has also had something of the disruptive experience which other Sections have undergone, there having been one expulsion under the charge of conduct unbecoming a member. This disruptive, one Louis

Berger, carried on the usual campaign of innuendos and outright lies, including correspondence with the National Secretary without bothering about securing the consent of the Section. The National Secretary promptly forwarded the correspondence to the Section, and Berger was placed under charges which were sustained by the Grievance Committee, after due notice to Berger and his ignoring of summons to appear before the committee or Section. Berger is now a member of the Workers party.

"Our activity should be increased during the presidential campaign, and every effort will be made to recruit our depleted ranks.

"The work of the Section among the seamen in the port of Baltimore is unique and very valuable, Comrades Stoeckl and Williamson being especially active."

Fred E. Oelcher for Massachusetts.

Paul Dinger for Michigan.

E. T. Middlecoff for Missouri.

Adjournment at 12:05 p.m. until 2 p. m.

Afternoon Session, Monday, May 14.

The convention was called to order at 2:02 p. m. At roll call the following were absent: Hungarian Federation: Frank Zerman, Alex Kudlik, Chas. Bustya.

Nieslich was elected sergeant-at-arms, pro tem. The minutes of the morning session were read and accepted as read.

The roll call and report of delegates was continued, the following delegates reporting at this session: Paul Dinger, Michigan, made a supplementary report to his previous report.

Peter McDermott for Rhode Island.

Joseph Yannerelli for New Jersey.
Henry Kuhn for New York.

John Goetke for Ohio.

Upton A. Upton for Oregon.

William Kruczynna for Pennsylvania.

S. Rack for Wisconsin.

A recess of five minutes was declared at 4:15; the convention reconvened at 4:20 p. m.

A telegram of congratulations was received from the Bulgarian Federation of Granite City, Ill.

A telegram of acceptance was received from the vice-presidential nominee, Verne I. Reynolds.

The reports of the delegates were continued as follows:

Alfred Johnson for the Scandinavian Federation.

Joseph Mackay for the Hungarian Federation.

A communication of greetings was received from the South Slavonian Federation of Cleveland, Ohio.

The reports of the delegates were timed:

Nicholas Stanich for the South Slavonian Federation.

Theodore Gramaticoff for the Bulgarian Federation.

Silver reported on the general agitation situation, the enthusiasm found among the members and the reaction to S. L. P. agitation in various sections of the country.

Minutes of the 17th convention were read and corrected. Accepted as corrected.

Adjournment at 6:25 p.m.

Paternalism submitted.

Upton A. Upton,

Rec. Sec'y.

Ward Beckwith,

Asst Rec. Sec'y,

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTION.

Introductory.

Once more the Socialist Labor Party meets in National Convention, confronted on every side with the fruits of the capitalist system which confirm each and every past and present contention of the Party. The capitalist system of production has again completed one of its cycles with the usual results: unemployment and widespread misery, slashing of wages where partial employment prevails, and an economic depression that promises to send a host of middle-layer capitalist concerns to the wall.

Widespread unemployment has appeared with seeming dramatic suddenness. Yet not so sudden. The close observer of things, he who has his ear to the ground, has long known that unemployment was rampant, though the fact was not reflected in headlines in the press. The interesting thing about this unemployment situation is that it is accompanied by no slowing down in production. In other words, so tremendous has been the increase in the productivity of labor that despite the displacement of millions of workers, the industries are able to keep up the production of commodities at the high water mark. This is what some of the capitalist papers describe as over-development of "our basic industries," and they refer to this—to capitalism—dangerous situation as "the evil of over-industrial-

ization." But the same process is going on in agriculture, which is more and more coming to be considered as a differentiated industry. According to recent figures more than 75,000 farms have been abandoned since 1920.

There is an annual exodus from the farms to the cities of about half a million. It is said that in the twelve months ending March, 1926, 123,000 American farms were subject to mortgage foreclosure. In other words, the small farmer is being crowded out, the big "farmer industry" is, obedient to the law of value, taking his place with the logistical concomitants of mass production and mass exploitation of farm labor. And as in the case of the urban industrial worker, so in the case of the agricultural "industrial" worker, his productivity has increased enormously. The National Industrial Conference Board informs us that during the last twenty-five years or so the average output per agricultural worker has increased 47 per cent, and that in the same period the average output of the factory worker increased 49 per cent. The Secretary of Commerce in his annual report points to an increase in mining productivity of 99 per cent and in railroad productivity of 56 per cent per worker. All of which spells displacement of labor all around, which in turn means that the foundation of capitalism is being undermined as

never before, foreshadowing an early breakdown of the capitalist system of society.

The breakdown on the economic field of capitalism is naturally reflected on the political field. The Political State is shaken to its very foundation. More and more it is becoming clear that political government is but the executive agency (however inefficient) of the top-capitalist class, the plutocracy. More and more it is seen that the political government is becoming an encumbrance on the social system favored by the plutocracy—and which the Socialist Labor Party was the first to forecast as a possibility, and to which the Party was the first to apply the designation *industrial feudalism*.

Historically and structurally the Political State is unfit for the functions of modern industrial society. Designed originally as a means to keep the exploited class in subjection, and to conciliate conflicting interests within the ruling class during a period when what we now know as modern capitalism was in the process of formation, the Political State has completely lost organic contact with the vital force in modern society—the gigantic industry and mammoth combination of capital. A tacit recognition of its incapacity is found in the various governmental "boards" with specialists in charge to deal with the most pressing problems of industrial society. But being makeshift affairs, and carrying as a matter of course, the class stamp of capitalism, they but serve to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the Political State on the one hand, and the instinctive need of, and irrepressible tendencies toward the industrial

form of government in society on the other.

A further natural consequence of this incongruous relation of the Political State to modern industrial society is the corruption that crops out everywhere within local as well as state and national governments. It is, of course, absurd to suppose this corruption to be accidental, or merely the consequence of placing "bad" politicians in charge instead of "good" politicians. The corruption is inevitable. Where a dead carcass is left to decay, the stench will fill the air and vultures will hover near, and have their fill. The Political State is, so to speak, a sociological carcass; the carcass manifests its malodorous presence in divers ways, and the pestilential thing is naturally breeding the maggots, as well as attracting the social buzzards that batten on the putrid "corpus."

A still further demonstration of the decay of the capitalist system and its executive committee is found in the utter ruthlessness with which dissenters are treated, indicating not only nervousness, but a consciousness of guilt. The recent brutal and beastly murder of Sacco and Vanzetti furnishes a case in point. This bloody and atrocious deed is a natural succession of the many previous acts of violence committed by an enraged capitalist class against members of the working class, and of which outstanding examples in modern times are the Paris Commune wholesale assassinations, the Haymarket affair and so forth. The butchers of Sacco and Vanzetti may think that the affair is ended and forgotten. They will have a rude awakening,

"For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
With most mtraculous organ."

And as the rottenness and decay of capitalism in general, and of the Political State in particular, progresses, there will be more such outrages.

Fatuous, indeed, is the mentality which visualizes social changes through a "cleansing" or "reformation" of political government. It cannot be done, and it should not be done. The new age calls for the complete scrapping of political government, and for the definite formation of the industrial working class government. The attitude of a political party toward the state serves, accordingly, to stamp that party as belonging either to the forces that strain to preserve, in whatever manner and on whatever pretence, the present social arrangement, or to the force that is making for the dissolution of the present social system and the establishment of industrial self-government of, by and for the useful producers, who today are the *wage working* men and women of the land. And by that test the Socialist Labor Party stands as the only revolutionary organization as against all the parties and groups that are tied, in one sense or another, to the existing order.

National Campaign 1924.

An intense campaign was carried on in 1924 with the two candidates heading the force of agitators in the campaign. Both Comrades Johns and Reynolds performed splendid work for the Party, both of them exerting themselves almost to the point of exhaustion. Both candidates toured from east to west and ad-

dressed a great number of outdoor meetings with the number of attentive listeners running into the thousands. We succeeded in getting on the ballot in twenty states and although the vote that was cast might not seem proportionate to the effort expended, still we have cause to be satisfied with the result, for the S. L. P. understands that it is not primarily a question of the number of votes cast, but the amount of agitation done and the number of workers reached, that counts.

Other agitators were kept busy in various sections of the country, all of them doing their share in producing one of the best campaigns in S. L. P. history.

A great number of leaflets were distributed, chiefly of course campaign leaflets. More than two million of such leaflets were distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land, apart from pamphlets that were sold and distributed during the campaign. Also a number of radio speeches were delivered by both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Other Party Activities.

During the years of 1924, '25 and '26, up to about early 1927 (with an intermission of a few months) Comrade Adolph Silver was engaged as national organizer for the Party. Wherever the national organizer went he succeeded in stirring up interest in the Party and was instrumental in preparing the ground for work to be done later. He was particularly successful in such places as Detroit where the S. L. P. became the subject of discussion wherever progressive workers gathered. A combination of circumstances made

it necessary to discontinue Comrade Silver as national organizer early in 1927.

Speaking of Detroit: it should be noted here that the organizations in Detroit later secured the services of Comrade Reynolds who for a period of five or six months and on the basis of the work accomplished by Comrade Silver previously, succeeded in building up the English Section in Detroit and in attracting to it material that gives excellent promise for the future.

Of course, during the coming campaign we will undoubtedly place a number of agitators in the field. But apart from this it should be our aim to try to keep at least one man in the field constantly. The response of the membership to the call for contributions to the National Organizer Fund made it possible to keep Comrade Silver in the field as long as we did, but the oncoming depression and unemployment which already a year ago was becoming acute, undoubtedly made it impossible for the membership as a whole to continue this support in addition to the other duties imposed upon them by virtue of membership in the Party. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to continue with at least one organizer after the campaign. The problem in this connection, however, is not merely one of funds, but also one of securing the right man. More and more of our capable organizers and agitators are finding themselves in the position of having to devote attention to getting and holding a steady job, and as the Party is not in a position where it can guarantee its organizers steady employment, it is natural that there should be a reluctance on the

part of our members to take the field when family considerations make it otherwise imperative upon them to be reasonably certain of a job when it is to be had. However, even this difficulty may be overcome.

Party Press and Literature.

WEEKLY PEOPLE.

The Party's official organ has as a matter of course been subjected to the usual uncertainties and vicissitudes incident to its mission as a revolutionary Socialist journal. The supporters of the WEEKLY PEOPLE are, relatively speaking, few and the means required to keep it going, in the nature of things at present, do not increase. The following is a table of WEEKLY PEOPLE sales for the four years beginning with 1925:

| | |
|--|------------|
| April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925 | \$8,949.47 |
| April 1, 1925, to March 31, 1926 | 8,738.96 |
| April 1, 1926, to March 31, 1927 | 9,093.76 |
| April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928 | 7,946.57 |

As will be observed there is a very considerable decrease since a year ago despite the special efforts that were made to increase the subscription list. Also, there is a decrease in the number of copies sold of about six hundred since a year ago which amount is divided approximately evenly between the bundles sold and single subscriptions.

The decrease in WEEKLY PEOPLE sales is explained to a large extent by the fact that the special sub-getter in the field, Comrade H. Morgan, while he is sending in the subscriptions, reimburses himself for

his services and expenses out of the money collected for these subs. That is to say, he will send us the subscriptions and we place them on the list, but the income from these new subscriptions is not even sufficient to maintain the sub-getter in the field. It means, therefore, that whereas approximately 773 subscriptions have been sent in by Comrade Morgan during the last year, the amount of approximately \$776.25 which ordinarily would have accompanied these subscriptions, was used directly to continue the work of Comrade Morgan. Even at that the State Committee of California has had to contribute financially in order to make it possible to keep Comrade Morgan going and, needless to say, Comrade Morgan is drawing no princely wages, his remuneration being \$4 per day and an extra dollar to take care of gas, oil, and wear and tear of his car. Yet, it is considered worth the expense for it is expected that the contacts made by Comrade Morgan and the new readers secured will later more than make up for the momentary expenditure involved in supplying these subscriptions free. This special work will be continued as long as we find it possible, unless it should be deemed advisable to discontinue it for other activities.

Since this report was written the following has been received from Comrade Morgan:

"Report of H. Morgan to National Secretary, Arnold Petersen
May 4, 1928.

"Dear Comrade:

"Up to date I have turned in 71 weekly reports, with a total subscrip-

tion of 1,224 readers for the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"I started to work in Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 14, 1926, and up to the day I started (north) up the coast, for San Francisco. I had secured 752 subs. in and about Los Angeles. I left Los Angeles, Sunday, Aug. 21, 1927, and have secured 472 subs. (since I pulled out of Los Angeles). The gap between San Francisco and Los Angeles of 500 miles, where the WEEKLY PEOPLE had but a dozen readers, now has 228, and since I arrived in the San Francisco Bay District, Dec. 10, 1927, I have secured 244 WEEKLY PEOPLE readers (subscribers). Up to this writing there have been twelve hundred and twenty-four subs. secured.

"While in Los Angeles my subs. were mostly three months, but I made it a point to again call on the individual, hoping to get him to extend his sub. for the entire year, and in many cases succeeded. Just as soon as I started on the 'road' I was determined to get yearly subs. and you will notice by my reports I met with fair success.

"Just a word about the farmer. To a great extent I found him about the same sort of a chronic kicker as our city folks, with that ever ready expression of stupidity, 'Can't do nothin'. With some I succeeded in overcoming that notion by working up a feeling of enthusiasm, showed him my receipt book, told what had been accomplished as a result of facing the issue, sticking to it in spite of the terribly destructive influence of capitalism, then with a thump of my fist on the table I would say, 'Are you going to turn your back on the only organization that is striving for that very thing

you and yours must have, the social ownership of the necessary tools of production?' With my receipt book on the table, ask his post office box number, start writing out the receipt. When I was bidding him good-bye he would shake my hand wishing me all sorts of good luck.

I met some very fine farmers, and I found among the farmers, just as I find in the city, those who are able to compete in this competitive struggle seem to be more capable of grasping the S. L. P. position. When I am canvassing a worker that shows signs of wanting to know, I give him a paper, mark carefully a few articles for him to read and urge upon him to find out what organization represents his interests, and keep ringing in his ears the peaceful solution of the problem must be the work of a classconscious organization of the working class. The Sections keep me supplied with leaflets (particularly those on Industrial Unionism).

"I found a farmer back in the mountains of Paso Robles who got his year's sub. because one of our S. L. P. men some three years previous had given him a few copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE when he lived in Utah.

"In Alameda, Calif., I met an old admirer of the S. L. P. from the 16th Assembly District of New York who read the *Daily People*. Said he stood on the corner many times listening to Daniel De Leon whom he had learned to admire greatly. This was not the only admirer of De Leon that I have bumped into on my tour.

"Never once have I met an individual who could point to a single incident where the S. L. P. or any

of our Party papers had ever betrayed the confidence of the working class. So you see, my strongest argument for subs. is the spotless character of the organization and Party owned press.

"I hope the national convention will adopt some plan by which funds can be acquired with which sub-getters can be developed. Those who are not public speakers can get subs by 'personal interviews.' First take the matter seriously. Go to the home of the party, have a heart to heart talk with your man, point to the record of your organization, build up his confidence, keep on talking on what has been accomplished by a few and what it means for him to get in line and do his bit, keep before his eyes how necessary it is to have a clean-cut, uncompromising organization; point out the treachery of the enemy and that safety only lies in perfection of organization. The rank and file must know and the better they know the safer we as a whole class are.

"Stick to it; don't take excuses; remember you are out for subs., not excuses. Comrade Sanders here in Oakland called for a renewal from a man who gave me one tough job before I landed his original three month sub. The renewal was obtained without any effort whatsoever.

"There is so much to say on this subject. I surely wish a few of our comrades would make up their minds to try this plan. I feel it is so necessary to get readers for our Party press. One of our Hungarian comrades, while in a group of his countrymen, got out his list, started off enthusiastically for subs. and within

an hour had nine subs. for *A Munkas*.

"The feeling of 'dampness' is overtaking the ex-S.P.'ites here in Oakland who flocked in to the more freakish body calling itself the Workers party. They have a man in the field attending to the renewals of the *Daily Worker*. And I have the WEEKLY PEOPLE going into many of the *Daily Worker* supporters' homes.

"The 472 WEEKLY PEOPLE readers in this district are bound to have the effect of exposing the freak and fool idea of the comesoonist bunch.

"I joined the S. I. P. in Pittsburgh, Pa., 1896, stood on the street corner selling the first copy of the *Daily People* that arrived in Pittsburgh. We sure got a bunch of them (I think it was 5,000) but were unable to dispose of them except by handing them out at street meetings. I just mention this to show you that getting subscriptions has been my hobby for many years.

"From the time Section Los Angeles was reorganized in 1925, and up to the time I started on this tour, I had secured 143 subs. I have often been asked: how can the workers be awakened? My answer is: Don't worry about the workers, let each fellow do his duty, stick to your task, stay right on the job, plug away, just as though you were the whole cheese. Do your bit to spread the literature of the only organization that has a clear understanding of the situation. Then you will have done your full duty. There will be a sudden awakening among the workers. The question is, Will we as an organization be ready? The California comrades regret that it is

impossible to send a delegate to the National Convention, but we are not a bit discouraged. Accept our greetings. We feel confident of final success. We also have confidence in the delegates elected to do the work of the organization at the convention.

"Will close, with fraternal greetings,

"H. Morgan, on tour."

During the last four years we have effected a number of improvements in the handling of subs and in the efforts made to retain subscribers. A letter is sent to every subscriber whose subscription is about to expire, explaining in detail why the subscriber should renew his subscription and enclosing with that letter a printed advertising circular emphasizing the particular features and such points in connection with the WEEKLY PEOPLE as are peculiar to it as distinguished from any other publication in the field. With these matters is also enclosed a bill made out for a year's subscription to help stimulate the suggestion to the reader that he ought to renew immediately. If that letter does not bring results another notice is sent to the reader once again reminding him of the importance of renewing promptly. At the same time the names of subscribers whose subscriptions have expired are sent to all the Sections throughout the country with a letter urging the Sections to visit or otherwise get in touch with such subscribers and endeavor to secure the renewal with as little delay as possible.

This plan has now been in effect sufficiently long to enable us to judge as to its effectiveness. There is no

doubt that this method has resulted in keeping many subscribers who otherwise would have been permitted to slide out as subscribers and who thus might have been lost altogether for the Party. Sections are required to render monthly reports to the National Office and, while many Sections do not take the trouble to do that, there are also quite a number of Sections that faithfully send their reports in every month.

At its 1925 session the National Executive Committee decided to apportion to the various Sections a quota of subscriptions to be secured during each month. It cannot be said that the attempt was very successful, for although some Sections made special efforts the plan soon settled down to the usual status of new plans and became largely a matter of routine, and routine very frequently becomes something to be attended to "if possible," and if not "possible," then something to push aside for other matters that also press for attention. This special plan was therefore discontinued, although it might be worth giving it a trial again some time within the next year or two. At any rate, the special efforts now made by the WEEKLY PEOPLE office to secure renewals seem for the time being the best and the most efficient and will, of course, be adhered to from now on.

Whenever writing the Sections in this connection it has been urged upon them to keep the names of the subscribers who fail to renew their subscriptions, thus keeping a sort of index of all such former subscribers. Such an index should prove valuable, not only whenever special subscription drives are made, but also during times of state and national cam-

paigns when we want to secure signatures and in connection with any other similar work.

From time to time we also take advantage of special occasions to urge all the readers of the WEEKLY PEOPLE to send in a subscription for some friend or associate. Thus, on two successive Christmases we sent out letters to the readers of the WEEKLY PEOPLE urging them to send in a Christmas gift subscription. The first time this was tried it was fairly successful, but the following year it was a failure and hence no further attempts at securing Christmas gift subscriptions were made. There has just been sent to the readers of the WEEKLY PEOPLE a letter urging them to send in a campaign subscription on the theory that during a national campaign the ear of the workers and the citizens in general is attuned particularly to matters political, and in connection with the Party's campaign it was thought that it would be possible to secure such special subscriptions and to get the beneficiary of the gift subscription sufficiently interested to continue his subscription of his own accord. As these letters have just been mailed it is impossible even to guess as to the success of the effort.

The convention of 1924 adopted a resolution requiring every Section and Language Federation Branch to hold at least one entertainment a year for the benefit of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Such entertainments were held and have proven a material means of financial support to the paper. In this connection the following comparisons may be of interest:

In the period 1925-26 we received

through such entertainments the amount of \$941 from the Sections, although only a small percentage of the total number of Sections arranged such affairs. This amount, however, does not include the proceeds from the Thanksgiving Day affair as that is considered a national undertaking though directed by the Sections in Greater New York. It should also be noted here that almost half of the total of \$941 was produced by Section Akron. The Federations in the same year produced a total of \$1,147. The bulk of this came from the Bulgarian Federation, whereas the Scandinavian Federation contributed nothing to this total. In the period 1926-1927 we find a notable increase in the proceeds from such entertainments so far as the Federations are concerned, but a decrease as regards the Sections. Here and there Federation Branches would cooperate with Sections in arranging such entertainments and the total amount produced from such joint efforts was \$582. During the same year there was received from the Bulgarian Federation \$1,866, and from the South Slavonian Federation \$737. But whereas the Hungarian Federation during the previous period had produced a total of \$105, during the period of 1926-27 the total was around \$15, with the Scandinavian Federation producing exactly \$11. During the period just closed, i.e., from 1927-28, the figures are as follows:

Sections, \$555; Sections and Branches jointly, \$78; Federations, \$903; with the New Jersey S.E.C. listed as having raised through entertainments \$56. (All sums are given in round figures.)

It will not escape your attention

that there has been a very considerable decline in the results from such entertainments, but whether that is due to fewer Sections and Branches having arranged such affairs, or whether it is because the affairs on the whole were not as successful as before, is difficult to tell. The subdivisions, however, ought to continue with such entertainments and picnics for the reason that it provides one of the best means of raising funds for the WEEKLY PEOPLE without directly tapping the financial resources of the members themselves. Many sympathizers and strangers are brought to such affairs and what they spend in one manner or another obviously helps to swell the proceeds of these affairs. Increased and not decreased attention to this important source of revenue should be the rule for the future.

A couple of years ago when the financial situation of both the Party in general and the WEEKLY PEOPLE in particular looked darker than ever, the Weekly People Guard was organized. At the time a letter was sent to all the Sections explaining the desperate situation that the Party's institutions found themselves in, and the imperative need of exerting every effort to provide the means for averting disaster. The Weekly People Guard, having been formed, provided the means of saving the situation. It becomes increasingly clear that the WEEKLY PEOPLE must have something definite that it can depend upon in order to weather the storms that undoubtedly are to be expected in the future even as we have had them in the past. It is therefore expected that as soon as the campaign is over the Weekly People Guard will be re-

organized with a new membership pledged for a definite period to contribute to the support of the paper.

That the enemies of the Socialist Labor Party would like nothing better than to see the WEEKLY PEOPLE succumb to the destructive and disintegrating forces of capitalism, is a fact sufficiently demonstrated by this time, but it has also been sufficiently demonstrated that they will not have the pleasure of witnessing such a calamity, PROVIDED that the supporters of the WEEKLY PEOPLE and the members and sympathizers of the Party, continue to exert themselves as they have in the past. For even the bitterest foes of the Party recognize that the WEEKLY PEOPLE is a publication without its equal in its particular field. There is no other publication in existence which contains so much sound reading pertaining to the labor movement, and as a teacher and instructor of revolutionary principles and tactics, no other paper can compare with it. And we can say this not so much in self-praise as in recognition of a self-evident fact.

LABOR NEWS SALES AND ACTIVITIES.

The total Labor News sales for the last four years are as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925 | \$5,220.98 |
| April 1, 1925, to March 31, 1926 | 3,836.11 |
| April 1, 1926, to March 31, 1927 | 3,443.06 |
| April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928 | 3,280.67 |

As will be noted, there is a steady and a progressive decline, although it will not do to use the higher figure

as a basis for comparison since that was the amount resulting from the campaign activities and therefore a good deal higher than during normal periods. During the last four years we have published the following books and pamphlets: cloth covered, 6,500; paper covered, 56,500. In the same period leaflets to the number of 2,950,700 were published.

We have a great many plans for future books and pamphlets, all of which, however, are being held in abeyance chiefly for the lack of funds. Among the things that we have been trying to get out for some years are a book of cartoons by Sidney Arner, "Montezuma's Dinner" by Lewis H. Morgan, a volume of Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan dialogues, "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress," and others. The last mentioned title is almost ready for publication and barring unforeseen circumstances it should be ready within a month or two. During the last year we brought out the work by Comrade Word H. Mills, entitled "Evolution of Society," a cloth bound book of some 256 pages.

We also succeeded in publishing the Jewish translation of "Two Pages from Roman History." Credit for securing the means to publish this book should be given largely to the S. L. P. members of the Workmen's Circle Branch Daniel De Leon, Paterson, N. J. They have worked indefatigably to raise the funds that finally enabled us to publish an edition of two thousand, of which five hundred have been bound up in cloth covers. Efforts are now being made to dispose of another six or seven hundred copies of this book through channels to which these comrades in Paterson have access—or at least to

which they hope to get access.

We are also preparing a pamphlet to contain selected editorials by De Leon on the subject of Ultramontanism. The general form and size of this pamphlet will be somewhat similar to the selected editorials on Russia which we published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Republic. A pamphlet on this subject at all times is valuable, considering the growing power and influence of Ultramontanism or political Romanism. During the campaign this pamphlet is also likely to become very useful, especially if Governor Smith should be nominated for the Presidency. The Presidency of Smith is bound to arouse people who are either blindly prejudiced or who have no real understanding of the nature and power of Ultramontanism. To the extent that De Leon's editorials on the subject of Ultramontanism are read by such people, they are apt to get a proper perspective of the question involved in the candidacy of Smith, and such a pamphlet may possibly be instrumental in causing such people to understand that the Socialist and working class objection to Smith should be based upon economic and political grounds and not merely on the grounds of religion, and when the nature of the Ultramontane machine is properly understood it will undoubtedly become clear to many such people that most of this talk about religious freedom and the right of a man to worship as he pleases, in the mouths of the Ultramontane politicians, is so many catch phrases intended to delude the unwary and the ignorant. Undoubtedly the Roman Catholic Political Machine is reaching out for political

power exactly as any other organized clerical machine would do and the election of a man like Smith as President would naturally result in an increase of the prestige and power of such a political machine. The duty of the Socialist must be to tear off the cloak of religion from such a political machine. Certainly none has done this better than De Leon. It is hoped that we will have this pamphlet ready in time to make it available during the campaign and a large sale ought to be insured for such a publication.

Last, but not least, it should be mentioned that we are planning to bring out the first volume of De Leon's editorials, the subject chosen as Volume I being "Industrial Unionism." It is hoped to get out this volume within a year or so. But for the campaign it could possibly be gotten out sooner, but in the circumstances a year seems to be the earliest date of publication of this first volume of the immortal De Leon's collected works.

During the past year, as you know, we published a selection of De Leon's editorials on the subject of Russia. The publication of this pamphlet coincided with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Republic and was, in a measure, a tribute paid by the S. L. P. to the first avowedly working class government which has survived so many years.

There is one Socialist classic which the Socialist Labor Party keenly feels the want of and that is Marx's "Capital." The English or so-called Swan-Somnenschein edition of "Capital" (which was the original and only edition for many years) has been out of print for several

years now and strange to say there appears to be no attempt on the part of any group in England to re-issue it. In this country there is an edition commonly known as the Kerr edition which, however, has been deemed unsatisfactory in the past by the Party and which, according to its title page, is avowedly "revised and amplified according to the 4th German edition by Ernest Untermann," and which, moreover, has been "improved" by the said Mr. Untermann with editorial notes.

Moreover, this particular edition is distinctly referred to as "Volume I" which, to put it mildly, is misleading since, as a matter of actual fact, Marx never wrote and completed the so-called Volumes II and III. We all know who Mr. Untermann is—a typical S. P. politician and a shouter for "making the world safe for democracy" during the war. We have often visualized the possibility of an S. L. P. edition of Marx's "Capital" and while such a task would be one of considerable magnitude, yet it does not lie outside the realm of possibilities. The composition, making of plates, printing, etc., would run into considerable amounts. However, photographic plates might be made of the original edition which, if made from a good, clear copy, would probably result in a good, readable page. Such plates would come to about \$1.77 each, and as there are more than 800 pages in "Capital" the total amount for the plates would come to about \$1,400. It would seem worth while to attempt to raise a fund of approximately that amount in order to get out an S. L. P. edition of Marx's "Capital." Once we have the plates the printing and binding would be

comparatively easy and could undoubtedly be attended to in the course of the regular routine at the Party plant. At any rate, the only other direct outlay would be for binding and as a small quantity could be bound up each time without materially increasing the cost, that in itself would present no great obstacle. The question is whether or not such an undertaking would be considered worth our efforts and the amount of money involved. Judging by the number of inquiries that we have received it would seem as though enough advance orders could be received to cover a considerable part of the initial outlay. From time to time we have been able to secure copies of the Somnenschein edition of "Capital" from England, but the supply (secured from second-hand book shops and S. L. P. connections in England) has never been equal to the demand. The time is undoubtedly fast approaching when there will be an ever greater demand for the strictly scientific classics of Socialism and particularly for the immortal "Capital" by the founder of scientific Socialism. To get out an S. L. P. edition of Marx's "Capital" seems a project worthy our serious consideration, though, needless to say, it is a project which even if decided upon must be subordinated to the more immediate demands made upon the Party.

Comrade Henry Kuhn continues his work on the De Leon editorials, although it is now largely subordinated to the other work that he has been called upon to do in recent years, particularly for the WEEKLY PEOPLE. To date Comrade Kuhn has completed indexing and copying the following subjects:

Industrial Unionism; Craft Unionism; Kangarooism and the Socialist Party; Economics and Concentration of Capital; The Political State; Russia; Ultramontanism; Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan Dialogues.

At the present time Comrade Kuhn is at work on the subject of Sociology. As already stated, we are hoping to get out the first volume of these editorials (Industrial Unionism) within a year's time or possibly sooner than that.

Constitutional Amendments.

The N. E. C. recommends the following amendments to the national constitution of the Party:

ARTICLE II.

Section 8. The clause now reads:

All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual members preferring same, and charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. A detailed report of the investigation and the findings of the committee shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the Section, the accused party being notified in due time by the Secretary of the Committee to appear at same. The Section shall then decide the matter and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the Secretary for safekeeping. The Secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

It is recommended to amend the section as follows:

All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual members preferring same, and charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. A detailed report of the investigation and the findings *with the recommendations* of the committee shall be *submitted to one of the next business meetings of the Section, the findings and recommendations to be voted on separately*. The accused party shall be notified in due time by the Secretary of the Committee to appear at *such meeting*. The Section shall then decide the matter in executive session and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the *Organizer* for safekeeping. The *Organizer* shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

COMMENT: The parts italicized are the changes or the additions proposed. The addition "with the recommendations" it is thought desirable to add, although as a rule every Grievance Committee makes its recommendations. The change "submitted to" is a simplification of the phrase now in the constitution which appears somewhat crude and out of date. The addition "the findings and recommendations to be voted on separately" is recommended in order to aid the Section in disposing of grievances with less difficulty and trouble than is now the case. In a Section, for instance where there is

trouble and where sentiment may be fairly evenly divided as to punishment, there may yet be an overwhelming majority in favor of finding the accused guilty on the basis of the facts before the Section. Therefore, if the accused is once found guilty it would follow logically that adequate punishment should be inflicted.

The word "Organizer" is substituted for "Secretary" for the reason that the Organizer is the custodian of Party documents and in any case the Secretary of the Grievance Committee has nothing more to do with the case nor with the documents after the Section has received the findings and recommendations of the Committee. The other changes are simply matters of grammatical construction.

The following new paragraph is recommended to be known as "New Section 9":

A member under charges is technically under arrest and deprived of all membership rights pending decision on the charges, and no such member shall hold any office, or serve in any capacity whatever in the Party, until all charges are disposed of, except in the case of a National Secretary or Editor who shall continue to function in their respective capacities until dealt with in accordance with Article VI. Section 3, and Article IX. Section 3.

COMMENT: There is not a year without several inquiries to the National Office requesting a ruling as to the status of a member under charges. The question is fully covered by "Robert's Rules of Order," but the absence of any specific clause in the constitution induces doubt in the minds of the member-

ship. The clause proposed is based upon the provision in "Robert's Rules of Order," which provision has been adhered to rigidly these many years. It is just as well to have the point definitely covered in the constitution.

The exception noted is suggested for obvious reasons. A single disrupter could, by preferring charges against the National Secretary and the Editor of a Party publication, cripple the organization by temporarily depriving the organization of the services of these officers. The N. E. C. years ago ruled to the effect of excepting an Editor and National Secretary in connection with any charges preferred, and the proposed change in the Party's constitution is simply legislating into effect a standing rule. It seems hardly necessary to amplify the reasons for the proposed recommendations.

All subsequent sections to be advanced one number, so that Section 9 becomes Section 10, and so forth.

Section 9. It now reads:

A two-thirds majority of the members, voting upon this question, at any business meeting, shall be sufficient to expel any member or to suspend him for a definite period. Expulsion and suspension shall be reported at once to the State and National Executive Committees, giving cause for action.

It is proposed to strike out the words "two-thirds" so that a simple majority of the members voting upon the question may expel or suspend a member.

COMMENT: Our experience in the past has taught us that it is often almost impossible to secure a two-thirds majority to expel an individual member, though by all S.L.P.

standards he should be expelled. Failure on the part of a Section thus to be able to purge itself has led to expulsion and reorganization of an entire Section, whereas if a simple majority had been required such reorganization and expulsion might have been avoided. The two-thirds majority provision has actually worked as a protection for the disrupters instead of as a safeguard to the Party. There seems no good reason why a majority of the members in a Section should not decide whether or not one of the members should be expelled or suspended. If due to some temporary conditions an injustice is done a member or if punishment inflicted is unduly severe, such a member always has recourse to the State Committee, the membership in the state or the N. E. C. in appealing. And it is unthinkable that, if a member has been unjustly expelled, during any of these stages it should not be clear to one of the various or successive reviewing courts, and if it is apparent to one of these courts there is no question that the judgment of the Section would be reversed or modified.

Section 10. The clause now reads:

All decisions of the Section may be appealed from within three months to the State Executive Committee. Decisions of the State Executive Committee may be appealed from within one month to a general vote of the Sections in the State, or to a State Convention, and the decision then reached, and all decisions of the National Executive Committee in individual grievances, where no State Executive Committee exists, shall be final.

It is proposed to insert in the first line after the word "Section" the

following: "in connection with charges."

COMMENT: On the face of it, it would seem superfluous to make such an addition since the context as well as the proximity of this paragraph to the other paragraphs dealing with charges, makes it clear that these decisions refer to charges and nothing else. But here again our experience has taught us not to take too much for granted. In Section Bronx the disrupters made the grotesque claim that the phrase "all decisions" meant any decision of the Section even if it had nothing to do with charges. Under such a construction it would be argued, for example, that if some member got up and criticized the running of a certain meeting and the Section by a vote decided that such criticism was not well founded, the critic could then appeal to the State Committee against the decision of the Section! As stated, grotesque as is the claim that such or similar decisions of a Section can be appealed from to the State Executive Committee, etc., it has actually been made and argued heatedly and those who contended to the contrary were accused of all sorts of dire things in the true manner of the disrupter. It required a decision of the New York State Executive Committee to place the disruptive minority in their place before that particular claim was reluctantly abandoned. Hence the need of a definite reference to charges in this paragraph.

Section II. The clause now reads:

No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party unless properly reinstated by the Section or Language

Federation Branch that expelled or suspended him, or, if either shall have ceased to exist, by the State Executive Committee or Language Federation, or, in the absence of such, by the National Executive Committee.

It is proposed to add the following after the words "by the National Executive Committee":

A Section may, if it chooses, refuse a suspended member admittance at its business meeting.

COMMENT: This recommendation is also prompted by our experience in the recent past and particularly in the case of the disruption in Section Bronx. The two ringleaders of the disrupters, having been suspended by the Section, attended every business meeting and while they were not allowed to speak or vote on any questions before the house, they acted to all intents and purposes as if they were members with every privilege of members in good standing. Moreover, they were in constant conferences with their fellow disrupters, giving them points and suggestions and constituting, in fact, a disruptive nuisance in utter defiance of the Section's judgment passed upon them. A Section thus annoyed and subjected to such humiliation should have it in its power to forbid such suspended members admittance at business meetings. There are no doubt exceptions. In many cases if a member is suspended and he is not a disrupter he will behave himself decently at Party meetings and if he does there is no reason why he should not be permitted to attend such meetings. Hence it is left with the Section itself to decide whether or not such a suspended member

should be permitted to attend meetings.

Section 16. The clause now reads:

In case of the dissolution, suspension or expulsion of any Section, all property of the same must be delivered to the State Executive Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

It is recommended to strike out the word "suspension."

COMMENT: It is proposed to strike this out of the clause for the reason that there is no such thing in the Party as suspension of a Section.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1. The section now reads as follows:

When in any city or town a Section is subdivided into Branches, it shall form a City or Town Organization, to be known as the General Committee, and all local business and all dealings with the Party's National and the State Executive Committees shall be carried on by such committee through the Organizer. When the general local government embraces a locality greater or smaller than a town or city the same rule shall apply.

It is proposed to add the following clause:

In the case of such Branch (or Branches) being a foreign language group (other than a Federation Branch) the Section may forego the formation of a general committee, but in such cases each foreign language group shall attend Section meetings either in a body, or by a representation of at least three of its members. The members of such foreign language groups shall at all times be under the complete jurisdiction of the Section,

which shall keep a record of their standing, and see to it that dues stamps are purchased as in the case of all other members.

COMMENT: This recommendation is made for the reason that it would be exceedingly cumbersome and entirely useless to form a general committee where there is only one English Branch and one or more foreign language Branches. The idea of a general committee originated in the territorial Branch idea.

That is to say, where in a given city there were two or more Branches of the same English Section, the need for a central body was imperative and hence the creation of a General Committee. In order, however, to keep the foreign Branches in close touch with the Section it is thought desirable to provide for compulsory attendance of the English Section meetings either by representation or by the entire foreign Branch attending Section meetings in a body. Section 2. The Section now reads:

Such Committee shall alone exercise the powers delegated to Sections under Article II. as far as concerns the admission, expulsion and suspension of members, and from all decisions of the Committee in such matters appeal may be taken within one month to a general vote of the Section under its jurisdiction. The Committee shall consider no application for admission to membership unless the same has been accepted by a branch under its jurisdiction.

It is proposed to add the word "general" after the word "Such."

COMMENT: This is simply to leave no doubt as to what particular committee is meant.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. The section now reads:

When in any state there are three Sections in three different towns or cities, they shall form a state organization to be known as the State Executive Committee. It shall be the duty of such Committee to conduct systematic agitational work within its jurisdiction, form new Sections, and maintain close contact with all Sections and members-at-large in the State.

It is proposed to add the following paragraph:

Whenever temporarily a State lacks the required number of Sections to maintain a State Executive Committee the National Executive Committee may in its discretion permit the continuance of such State Executive Committee pending the reorganization of the temporarily lapsed Sections.

COMMENT: This amendment is proposed in order to enable the N.E.C. or the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to tide a state over a temporary difficulty. To carry out the present provision rigidly would often mean that more than one state organization would be wrecked, whereas in many cases it is quite possible to preserve the state organization until after a short time one or more Sections may have been reorganized, thus bringing the state fully within the provision of the constitution. As the clause now reads at present, the N.E.C. would be compelled to disrupt a state organization for, say, one, two, three or more months, only to have to go through the laborious and troublesome process of reorganizing and reconstituting the state organization with election of State Secretary, State Committee, and so on and so forth.

ARTICLE V.

Section 1. The section now reads:

The National Executive Committee shall consist of one member from each State organized with a State Executive Committee.

Before stating the proposed amendment an introductory statement seems desirable. For the last seven or eight years there has been a tendency in a number of states to fall below the required minimum of three Sections upon the basis of which representation on the N.E.C. is conditioned. This means that gradually the number of states entitled to representation on the N.E.C. has decreased. The tendency is not checked, but rather in the near future it promises to go on. It does not necessarily follow that the lapse of a certain Section means in itself a diminution in the numerical strength in the organization. A Section may have just the required number of seven members and if one, two or more members move from one part of the state to another, or from one state into another, such a Section will lapse. At any rate, the tendency is there and proper account should be taken of it. It is possible that within the next year or so two or three more states may fall below the required minimum of three Sections, which in turn would mean a reduction in the number of N.E.C. members. It is theoretically possible that before the day of the Party arrives there may be but one or two N.E.C. members from states with three or more Sections in them. In order to provide a basis of representation for the N.E.C. that is not subject to current vicissitudes, it is proposed to

divide the country into nine regions under the following provision:

New Section 1:

For the purpose of providing a basis for National Executive Committee representation, the country shall be divided into nine regions as follows:

Region No. 1 to comprise the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island.

Region No. 2: New York.

Region No. 3: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia.

Region No. 4: Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan.

Region No. 5: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri.

Region No. 6: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah.

Region No. 7: Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, California.

Region No. 8: Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma.

Region No. 9: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.

New Section 2:

The National Executive Committee shall consist of one member from each region having at least three Sections in good standing.

Section 2 to become Section 3, and where the words "states" and "state" occur substitute the words "regions" or "region," respectively. Section 5. The section now reads:

Any member of the National Executive Committee shall be removable at will, either:

a. Upon the application of two Sections of his own State, made to their State Executive Committee and ratified

by a referendum vote of the membership of the State, or,

b. Upon the application of three State Executive Committees, made to the National Executive Committee and ratified by a referendum vote of the whole membership of the Party.

The proposed change in N. E. C. representation being adopted requires corresponding changes in the above quoted section. The following is proposed:

New Section 5:

Any member of the National Executive Committee shall be removable at will, either:

a. Upon the application of three Sections within the Region he represents,

or

b. Upon the application of five Sections within at least two Regions.

In either alternative the initiating Section must submit its application to the National Office for the necessary seconds, all seconds to be made within six weeks from the date the call is issued by the National Office. If sufficient seconds are received the question is then submitted to the entire membership for a referendum vote.

COMMENT: As stated, the need for this change is obvious if the basis of representation on the N. E. C. is made as per proposed amendment above. The form here proposed for removing an N. E. C. man is derived partly from the present clause providing for removal, and partly from the paragraph providing for the initiation of referenda.

Section 13. The section now reads:

The Sub-Committee shall be composed of fifteen members.

It is proposed to reduce the num-

ber of Sub-Committee members to eleven.

COMMENT: It has often been observed that in matters of this kind the Party has been inclined to go to two opposite extremes. For instance, in Federation Executive Committees (which correspond to the Party's N. E. C.) the membership of such committees has been fixed as low as five. This seems altogether too low. On the other hand, it scarcely seems necessary to have a committee with as large a membership as fifteen. In our present circumstances this high number has often necessitated putting members on the Sub-Committee who were scarcely suited for that important work, either by reason of not having been long enough in the organization, or because their particular talents fitted them for some other work which by reason of being Sub-Committee members they could not discharge. In the State of New York, for example, it has been found somewhat difficult to secure members for the State Executive Committee for the reason that those willing to serve in such capacity were already on the N. E. C. Sub-Committee and therefore disqualified as State Executive Committee members. That situation has led to a similar difficulty on the State Committee, namely that often inexperienced or poorly qualified members have been put on that important committee. But in any event there appears to be no good reason why the N. E. C. Sub-Committee should be composed of as many as fifteen members when ten or eleven members are quite sufficient. Moreover, it is seldom that more than eleven or twelve members attend a Sub-Committee meeting anyway. As it is now, there is

scarcely a year when the National Secretary escapes the unpleasant duty of having to scurry around for suitable Sub-Committee members, urging and pleading with some who would rather not serve on that committee.

NEW ARTICLE TO BE KNOWN AS ARTICLE VI.—"MILEAGE."

By way of introduction the following should be noted. Under the proposed change in the N. E. C. representation the electing of all N. E. C. members will be done through the National Office instead of as heretofore, through State Committees. This in turn means that the Sections within a given region would have to defray the expenses of sending an N. E. C. man to the session instead of, as it is done now, through the State Executive Committee. To overcome this difficulty it is proposed to increase the present Convention Mileage Assessment from twenty-five cents to fifty cents and to apply one-half of this fifty cents to defray convention mileage and the other half N.E.C. session mileage. The following clause under above heading is therefore proposed:

The expenses of the members of the N. E. C. representing the various territorial Regions and Federations shall be borne by the respective Regions and Federations sending them, excepting, however, their railroad fare coming and going which shall be defrayed from a joint convention-N.E.C. Mileage Fund to be collected by the National Executive Committee by means of a special annual assessment of fifty cents per member and for which a stamp shall be issued. The National Executive Committee shall bank the funds so collected in a savings bank, the same to be drawn

against only immediately prior to the holding of the N. E. C. sessions and National Convention.
Articles VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., to be known as Articles VII., etc.

PRESENT ARTICLE VII.

Section 3. The section now reads:

The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention five months prior to the date of same, and the State Executive Committee, in transmitting the call to the Sections, shall call for nominations for delegates, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for.

It is proposed to add the following paragraph:

In the absence of a State Executive Committee the National Secretary shall call for nomination and election of delegates. In the case of Language Federations such call shall be issued by the National Secretary of each respective Federation.

COMMENT: This is what is being done now anyway and it is simply proposed for the reason that it ought to be covered in the constitution.

Section 5. The section now reads:

The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States and Federations sending them, excepting, however, their railroad fare coming and going, which latter shall be defrayed from a special mileage fund to be collected by the National Executive Committee by means of a special annual assessment of twenty-five (25) cents per member and for which a stamp shall be issued. The National Executive Committee shall

bank the funds so collected in a savings bank, the same to be drawn against only immediately prior to the holding of the National Convention.

Strike out in its entirety and substitute the following as New Section 5:

The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the States and Federations with exception of their railroad fare coming and going which latter shall be defrayed as per Article VI. Section 1.

COMMENT: This proposed amendment is in conformity with the proposed changes providing a joint Convention-N.E.C. Mileage Fund.

ARTICLE XI.

Section 3. The section now reads:

No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle to him, and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

Strike out the words "shall explain" and substitute the one word "explaining."

COMMENT: This is merely simplifying the grammatical construction of the clause.

Section 15. The section now reads:

The N. E. C. shall set aside five cents of the money received for every dues stamp sold (not including stamps sold to Language Federations) to be used as a propaganda leaflet fund. Propaganda leaflets covering various subjects shall be issued by the N. E. C. in the English language and furnished to the English speaking Sections according to the amount paid by each

State or Section into the leaflet fund. The N. E. C. may also issue leaflets in foreign languages at its own discretion. S. L. P. organizations shall be required to render monthly reports to the N. E. C. specifying how many propaganda leaflets were received, how many disposed of, and the manner in which they were disposed of.

It is proposed to remove this clause from the constitution in its entirety.

COMMENT: The provision to set aside five cents for a special leaflet fund was added to the constitution some seventeen or eighteen years ago. The clause has become absurd and practically meaningless for the reason that the five cents set aside would not suffice to provide even a fraction of the leaflets required by the membership. For that reason we have on one occasion, at least, called for a special leaflet fund in order to take care of the debt which the National Office incurred with the New York Labor News Co. The clause cannot be observed by the National Office for the reason that the fund provided is not sufficient, and the clause is not observed by the Sections because it is altogether too cumbersome and requires almost a double entry bookkeeping system to do the thing right. A clause in the constitution which has no meaning and which cannot be observed should be removed.

Section 16. The section now reads:

The N. E. C. shall also set aside eight cents of the money received for every dues stamp sold (not including stamps sold to Language Federations) for the sole purpose of maintaining at least one organizer in the field continuously.

It is also proposed to remove this clause in its entirety.

COMMENT: This clause was added to the constitution about ten or twelve years ago and what was said in regard to Section 15 applies in every respect to Section 16. The eight cents supposedly set aside to maintain a national organizer is used and needed to help run the National Office, and in any event the total amount during a year would not be sufficient to keep one-quarter of an organizer in the field. Here, too, we have right along called for a regular National Organizer Fund. Section 16 being in the same class as Section 15, should not remain as deadwood in the constitution.

State of Organization.

CALIFORNIA.

We have four Sections in this state: Alameda County (Oakland), Los Angeles, Santa Clara County and San Francisco. Three of these Sections are fairly active; the fourth (Santa Clara County) has not given much sign of life as a Section due perhaps to the fact that it is also the seat of the State Executive Committee, and from the State Executive Committee reports are received right along. Recently Los Angeles had the benefit of the presence of Comrade John P. Quinn who has been doing valuable work in delivering lectures and in other ways helping the Section to conduct its agitation. Comrade Quinn was engaged for two weeks by the National Office to do organization work in Los Angeles with good results. It is expected to secure Comrade Quinn's services as an organizer during the campaign and a considerable part of

this time will undoubtedly be given to agitation work in the Pacific Coast states.

In this state we have Hungarian Federation Branches in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Getting on the Ballot.

In the past it has been a physical impossibility to get on the ballot in the State of California. The requirement is three per cent of the total vote cast at the previous election. The petition has to be filed soon after June 1 and the signers must make affidavit that they constitute such and such a party. On the basis of the total vote cast at the last election the number of signatures required would be more than 86,000. This would entitle the Party to participate in the August primary. Then a petition would be required for each candidate whose name we wished placed on the ballot. This petition would require from one to two per cent of the voters. The candidates chosen at the primary for each party constitute the state convention of the party. This state convention meets at the state capital and drafts the state platform and chooses the candidates of the party for presidential electors, etc., etc.

There is another possibility: Section 1188 of Political Code allows independent nominations for any office to be made after the primary by securing signatures to the amount of one per cent of the total vote, which would be somewhat over 12,000. Here again a lot of red tape would have to be gone through. We are informed that at the last session of the legislature a bill was introduced to amend that section so as to allow presidential electors to be nominated

under this section. If this bill was passed it may be decided to make the obviously extraordinary effort to get on the ballot. Otherwise the final and highly unsatisfactory recourse will be for the individual voters to write the name of the Party's candidates in the blank space on the ballot.

CANADA.

In Canada we still have Section Toronto on the map. Not much is being accomplished in a systematic or organized manner. Comrade H. Lynch who was particularly active in the Section, took seriously ill and is now in a sanitarium in Canada recuperating from an attack of tuberculosis. It may be said that Comrade Lynch literally sacrificed his health battling for the principles of revolutionary Socialism against the labor faker. There is hope, however, that this sterling comrade will recover and as soon as he does he will take his place in the ranks again. Whether that will be in Toronto or elsewhere is not known, of course, but wherever it will be the locality will be certain of gaining a vigorous fighter for the principles of the S. I. P. The only other really active comrade in Toronto is Edward Farrell who also has been doing all that one man could do to keep the Section going. Unfortunately, Comrade Farrell's work takes him out of town for extended periods of time. Most of the other old-timers seem to have grown rather tired. Comrade Reynolds has recently spent a number of weeks in Toronto and with his characteristic vigor and energy immediately started to round up the members and sympathizers. Meetings have been held that were fairly well at-

tended by outsiders, though the "old-timers" themselves did not manifest excessive interest, according to the report of Comrade Reynolds. There is still hope that new life may be injected into the Section provided Comrade Reynolds can stay in that city long enough. It should be noted here that Comrade Reynolds is doing this work in his spare time as a voluntary agitator and without any other remuneration except such as flows from the satisfaction of spreading the principles of the S. I. P.

It is said that there are some Bulgarian members-at-large in Toronto and possibly a Bulgarian Branch may be organized there. If not, it would seem a good policy to have these Bulgarians join the Section and help build it up. This matter will be taken up with the Bulgarian Federation in due time.

COLORADO.

In Colorado we have only one Section now, namely Denver. The Section is not large and due to the fact that the members are scattered over a considerable territory (the organizer living twenty miles out of Denver) it is naturally difficult to accomplish much in the way of agitation.

In El Paso County (Colorado Springs) we still have a few members who, however, are in arrears with everything and with one exception, that of Comrade I. Ginther, may be considered as having retired for a rest period. At any rate, efforts have been made to rouse them to activity without much success. Comrade Ginther himself also has been compelled to leave Colorado Springs for an extended visit to the

Middle West, which fact, of course, has not helped to improve the situation.

Getting on the Ballot.

Although report as to the possibilities of getting on the ballot in Colorado has not yet been received by the National Office, it is believed to be a comparatively easy matter to get on the ballot in the state. In the past it required 500 signatures that could be gathered anywhere. At any rate, efforts will be made to get on the ballot and there seems to be no reason why with proper cooperation between the National Office and the Colorado comrades we should not succeed. The vote cast in 1924 was 313.

CONNECTICUT.

In this state we have four Sections: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven and Rockville. Rockville was recently reorganized but so far it does not seem to have gotten a very good start. Efforts, however, will be made to get the Section going and doing whatever work it can, especially during the campaign. One of the drawbacks in this connection is the fact that the members are scattered over a large territory with no means of getting to the Section's meeting place other than through individual conveyances or by walking several miles.

The other Sections are as active as circumstances permit. Last winter Comrade Kuhn was toured through the state and he delivered lectures in a number of cities, not only in Connecticut but throughout New England.

We have foreign language Branches in this state as follows: Hungarian: Bridgeport and South

Norwalk; Scandinavian: Hartford, New Britain and New Haven.

Getting on the Ballot.

To get on the ballot in Connecticut is a very considerable task. It can only be done by sending signature gatherers into the state. If each member in the state would get busy and secure 200 signatures apiece, the thing could be done without any further difficulty or expenditure. The State Secretary reports that to get the needed signatures the State Committee would require at least \$300 from the National Office and four outside canvassers. Every effort, of course, will be made to get the needed signatures. The signature gathering could be done away with altogether if we had secured 2001 votes, or one-half of one per cent of the total vote cast in the state in 1924. We actually polled 1376 votes in 1924, so that we were not so far removed from securing the required number.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

We have a Section in the City of Washington which, however, is not very active, due naturally to the fact that it finds itself in the nation's capital. Comrade M. Kasaras, however, is a hustler and whenever he has the opportunity he never fails to do everything possible to further the Party's agitation in Washington.

ILLINOIS.

In this state we have virtually only one Section, Cook County (Chicago). While the Section in East St. Louis still exists it does not quite come up to the minimum membership required for a Section in good standing. Still, those comrades who are in the Sec-

tion are active, particularly Comrade Jenning who is also the State Secretary of Illinois. There are few members in the Party who take their S. L. P. duties as seriously as Comrade Jenning who is on the job early and late. It is one of the inspirations of a workaday existence to receive reports from this comrade.

In Fulton County (Canton) we had a Section which, however, has had no actual existence for several years. The two comrades left there, however, carry on the best they can under the guidance of the State Secretary, Comrade Jenning. Efforts were made to reorganize Section Springfield and Comrade Fred Koch had been employed for that purpose last fall when unfortunately he suffered a severe attack of the grippie and was laid up for a long time. Further efforts, however, will be made to reconstitute Section Springfield which may enable us to bring the state back again in the ranks of states organized with a State Executive Committee.

We had a Section in Peoria some years ago and efforts have been made repeatedly to get the comrades together again. There seem to be enough members to form a Section but no one either has the time or cares to take the trouble to get a Section in working order. Renewed efforts will be made during the campaign and the foreign language Branches will be called upon to assist in the work.

We have the following language Federation Branches in Illinois: Bulgarian: Benton, Chicago, Frankfort Heights, Granite City, Madison, Waukegan, Zeigler; Hungarian: Peoria; Scandinavian: two branches

in Chicago; So. Slavonian: Peoria and Lyons.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state only 1,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot and they can be secured anywhere. The state does not need any outside assistance so that we may take it for granted that the Party's ticket will be on the ballot in the State of Illinois. In 1924 the Party polled 2384 votes in the state.

INDIANA.

Here, too, conditions have had their effect on our movement. The corruption uncovered in political circles in Indiana does not seem to have had a great effect on the working class mind, and the only immediate result will possibly be the putting in of a "clean" set of politicians instead of the rather filthy gang which has been turned out (or is being turned out) of office.

We have two Sections in the state: Fort Wayne and Indianapolis, with connections in Evansville. With some effort and the application of local initiative we could easily have a Section in Evansville where a great deal of agitation has been done in the past.

We have the following language Federation Branches: Bulgarian: Fort Wayne, Gary, Indianapolis; So. Slavonian: Indiana Harbor.

Getting on the Ballot.

In this state it is theoretically easy to get on the ballot as only 500 signatures are required in the entire state and they can be secured in any part of the state. The State Secretary, Comrade Charles Ginsberg, does not believe that outside assistance will be needed. Nevertheless,

it is quite possible that we may fail in getting on the ballot because of the trickery of the politicians. We had the required number of signatures in 1924 with 100 or more to spare and in the last moment we were eluded off the ballot and it was too late for us then to take whatever steps might otherwise have been taken to regain our place. Special attention will be given to any possible trickery that may be applied by the politicians this year, so as to avoid if at all possible being left off the ballot in the State of Indiana.

IOWA.

In this state we have one Section, Clinton. It is a good S. L. P. Section which does everything that it possibly can to support the Party and its undertakings, although being rather isolated and in a non-industrial part of the country, it is not able to do a great deal of agitation in the state. There are no language Federation Branches to assist the Section.

Getting on the Ballot.

It is comparatively easy to get on the ballot in this state, only 500 signatures being required which can be secured in any part of the state. The comrades locally expect to be able to gather about one-half of the required minimum and the National Office will have to take steps to secure the remainder. Of course, here as elsewhere a sufficient margin must be secured to provide against errors or arbitrary decisions by election officials. The vote polled in Iowa in 1924 was 445.

KENTUCKY.

We have here one Section, Louisville, which, everything considered,

is doing what it can do with its limited membership. Recently it has secured a member whose activity promises to bring the state into greater prominence within the Party than has been the case in the recent past. There are no language Federation Branches in the state.

Getting on the Ballot.

No official report has as yet been received with regard to the requirements for getting on the ballot in this state, but it was a comparatively easy task in the past and there seems to be no reason now why we should not succeed this year. The vote polled in Kentucky in 1924 was 1499.

MAINE.

We have no Section in this state, but it may be possible to get on the ballot by placing members-at-large on the ticket. This is a matter which requires looking into, but every legitimate effort will be made to get on the ballot in Maine this year. In 1924, 406 votes were polled in Maine.

MARYLAND.

Section Baltimore is still the only Section in the state and keeps persistently at the work of S. L. P. agitation, although the Section has suffered reverses during the last few years. Comrade Reynolds is no longer in the city, having migrated West. As stated, the comrades in Baltimore, however, are doing all that their spare time allows them to carry on agitation for the Party.

There are no language Federation Branches in the state.

Getting on the Ballot.

Two thousand signatures are legally required to get on the ballot,

which means that at least three thousand would have to be gathered. All of these could be gathered in Baltimore. With some assistance from the National Office it is expected that the Party's ticket will be on the ballot in Maryland where, by the way, the Party is known as the Labor Party due to election requirements. In 1924, 786 votes were polled in Maryland.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In this state we have the following Sections: Boston, Essex County (Lynn), Hampden County (Springfield). These three Sections are fairly active. In Lynn the Section ran foul of a reactionary city official in respect to holding open air meetings. The matter is now in the process of being tested in court. Information has just been received from the Section that the finding against Comrade Surridge (who was the member arrested for speaking on the street with permit, but in defiance of the orders of the Chief of Police) was sustained by Judge Hayes of the Supreme Court at Salem. Comrade Surridge was found guilty and fined \$5. The sentence was suspended to allow the case to go to the Supreme Court on report and an agreed statement of facts. The case will probably be tried in the State Supreme Court some time next fall. In the letter conveying the above information the organizer of the Section expresses the hope that a decision will be rendered in the Party's favor. "If not," the letter reads, "it is the opinion of Section Essex County (Lynn) that the National Executive Committee should appeal to the highest court of the land."

In this state we have the follow-

ing language Federation Branches: Scandinavian: Boston, Lynn, Quincy and Waltham.

Getting on the Ballot.

No official report has been received from the State Secretary, but as we were on the ballot four years ago there appears to be no reason why we should not get on this year also. In Massachusetts we polled 1667 votes in 1924.

MICHIGAN.

There is only one Section in the state and that is Detroit. Efforts have been made from time to time to organize Sections elsewhere, particularly in Lansing, but so far without definite result. Section Detroit has been the center of a tremendous agitation by the Party. During one period Comrade Silver spent several months in the state and succeeded materially in clearing out of our road a lot of "rubbish," making the Party well known and the subject of discussion in working class circles in Detroit. Later Comrade Reynolds arrived and settled in Detroit. He spent several months as organizer for the Section and has performed a great deal of agitation and organizing work in Detroit. As a result of these combined efforts Section Detroit has attracted a large sympathetic following and the membership has also increased considerably over what it was a few years ago. Internal disturbances have somewhat interfered with reaping the full benefit of the work done. This, however, belongs under another subject.

We have a number of Federation Branches in Michigan: Bulgarian: Detroit, Flint, Pontiac; Hungarian: Detroit, South Slavonian: Detroit, Hamtramck.

With respect to the Detroit South Slavonian Branch there, too, has been taken place a serious disruptive outbreak which also will be dealt with under its proper head. The Branch has been reorganized and the latest report indicates that in a short time the Branch will reach its former strength and with a much improved state of S. L. P. health.

Getting on the Ballot.

The requirements for getting on the ballot in this state appear to be none. At any rate, the report of the City Central Committee is that the number of signatures required to get on the ballot is nominal and that no assistance is required or needed from the National Office. Accordingly, there should be no reason for not getting on the ballot, although the possibilities of some complications have been suggested. No doubt the comrades will see to it that all proper efforts are made to get on the ballot or to keep the National Office posted if assistance should be needed. In the State of Michigan in 1924 we polled 5179 votes.

MINNESOTA.

There are four Sections in this state, two of which, however, are scarcely functioning though one, at least, could be made to perform the work of a regular S. L. P. Section with the proper initiative.

The two active Sections in the state are Minneapolis and St. Paul. Winona is barely "hanging on" and unless someone in that Section develops enough initiative and takes the necessary time to look after Section affairs it is feared that the Section will collapse. Section Alborn is scarcely to be considered a Section since the members are scattered

over a vast farming territory. Still, the comrades contribute from time to time and presumably do what they can in their difficult circumstances to advance the interests of the Party.

We have a Scandinavian Branch in Minneapolis.

Getting on the Ballot.

At this writing there is no definite report at hand as to the requirements for getting on the ballot, but as we got on four years ago we should succeed this year also although it will no doubt be harder. The National Office will exert every effort possible and assist the comrades to the fullest extent in order to get the Party's ticket on the ballot in Minnesota. In this state we polled 1855 votes in 1924.

MISSOURI.

We have two Sections in the state, Kansas City and St. Louis. A good deal of agitation has been done in the state from time to time and leaflet distribution was effected on a rather extensive scale a few years ago with the state ticket printed on same.

We have Bulgarian and South Slavonian Federation Branches in St. Louis.

Getting on the Ballot.

No official report has been received with regard to the requirements for getting on the ballot in Missouri, but here, too, it may reasonably be expected that we shall get on as we succeeded four years ago. In Missouri we polled 883 votes in 1924.

NEW JERSEY.

In this state we have virtually only two Sections: Hudson County and Passaic County. Although there is a nucleus of a Section in Newark.

It is one of the strange phenomena in the S. L. P. that no Section can be maintained in Newark. One is tempted to conclude that there are special pernicious influences at work preventing the formation of a Section there. The inference is justifiable when it is remembered that Newark has been the scene of several disruptive outbreaks in the past. Efforts will be made again and again to get a Section going and whatever assistance can be rendered from the National Office will be given. The State Committee is doing all it can and its State Secretary, Comrade H. Southouse, is alert and on the job.

We have connections throughout the state, especially in such places as Trenton and Camden. A Section could no doubt be organized in Trenton, but unfortunately whenever such organization was effected the Section went to pieces each time.

We have the following language Federation Branches in New Jersey: Scandinavian: Newark (Montclair); So. Slavonian: Hoboken.

Getting on the Ballot.

In the past it was comparatively easy to get on the ballot in New Jersey as only 800 signatures were required which could be secured in any part of the state. This year, however, the requirement has been changed so that the signatures have to be gathered before May 10. There is every indication now that the required number will be secured before that time, but since the Party convention does not meet until May 12 it is not quite clear how this will affect the placing of electoral candidates on the ticket. In 1924 in New Jersey we polled 819 votes.

NEW YORK.

In this state we have the following Sections: Bronx, Erie County (Buffalo), Kings County (Brooklyn), Montgomery County (Amsterdam), New York, Onondaga County (Syracuse), Rensselaer County (Troy), Schenectady. We also have connections in Monroe County (Rochester), where a Section existed up to a few years ago. Death and various reverses, however, resulted in the disintegration of the Section. All the other Sections are active, with the exception of Montgomery County and Schenectady, although in the latter city agitation has been carried on from time to time, meetings having been held with the assistance of the comrades from Troy.

The Section in the Bronx suffered somewhat from the disruptive outbreak of about a year ago, which had ravaged the Section for more than a year previous to that. The Section is now in excellent condition and doing splendid work for the Party. The trouble in the Section will be dealt with under its proper head.

We have the following Language Federation Branches in the state: Bulgarian: Lackawanna, New York and Syracuse; Hungarian: New York; Scandinavian: New York.

In Brooklyn there was a Scandinavian Branch up till six or seven months ago. The Branch, however, allowed itself to be placed in a position of obstruction to the National Office of the Federation, and although possibly half a dozen of the members of the Branch were bent on disruptive work it was not expected that the entire Branch would have followed the lead of these disrupters. As, however, has been the

case in the past, the majority either because of indifference or because of failure to understand the organization principle involved, allowed itself to be led like so many sheep, with the result that the Branch as a whole ceased to exist. This matter will also be dealt with more fully under its proper head.

South Slavonian Branches: Lackawanna and New York.

Getting on the Ballot.

It is a great task to get on the ballot in the state of New York, 12,000 signatures being required, of which a minimum of sixty in each county must be secured. There are sixty-one counties in the state and roughly about 6,000 are gathered in New York City. It will probably be necessary for the National Office to assist financially in getting these signatures. Upstate, Sections Rensselaer County and Onondaga County have in the past performed their share in getting the signatures and it is hoped that with some financial assistance these Sections will be able to do as well as they did in the past. Comrade P. E. De Lee of Troy is one of our champion signature gatherers and it is expected that he will be available for this work this summer to the same extent as in the past. In New York we polled 9928 votes in 1924.

OHIO.

We have the following Sections in the state: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Youngstown. With the exception of Cincinnati all of these Sections have been fairly active, although Columbus only lately has taken a more active part. Cincinnati has suffered through the absence of some of its active members,

but as this difficulty has now been somewhat overcome it is expected that the Section will take its place in the ranks of active Sections of the Party.

In Toledo we have had a Section which, however, has not functioned during the last four or five years except sporadically. Comrade Reynolds spent some time in that city last winter and succeeded in rounding up a group of four or five which promised to meet as a group and take care of S. L. P. agitation in the city even if they were not enough to constitute a Section.

We have the following language Federation Branches in Ohio: Bulgarian: Akron, Cleveland, South Lorain, Mansfield, Toledo; Hungarian: Akron, Cleveland, Lorain; Scandinavian: Akron, Youngstown; South Slavonian: Akron, Barberton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville, Youngstown.

Most of these Branches are doing excellent work for the Party, although in one or two places there have been internal disturbances, notably in Akron. This, however, will be dealt with separately.

Getting on the Ballot.

To get on the ballot in Ohio is quite a task—possibly more difficult than in any other state where we have a chance of getting on the ballot at all. A minimum of 15,500 signatures must be secured. Fortunately they can be gathered anywhere in any part of the state or in any one city if necessary. The State Secretary reports that the state may require assistance to the extent of having an organizer for one month in order to get on the ballot. It was quite an undertaking to secure the signatures four years ago, several

comrades being on the road at one particular time. The State Committee in Cleveland with Comrade Strebig as the State Secretary is, however, on the job and in every respect alert. In Ohio we polled 3025 votes in 1924.

OREGON.

This is a state where marked and definite progress has taken place during the last four years. We have succeeded in organizing a Section in Bend which brought the number of organized Sections up to three, which in turn enabled the comrades to organize a State Executive Committee with representation on the N. E. C. The state organization is now functioning and in capable hands, with Comrade O. Stromquist of Portland as the State Secretary. Barring unforeseen trouble or obstacles the State of Oregon promises to give a good account of itself in the future. We have a Bulgarian Branch at Portland.

Getting on the Ballot.

The complete information has not yet been received regarding getting on the ballot in Oregon, but it will require about 10,000 signatures which may be gathered in any part of the state. If it should become necessary to pay signature gatherers to get the 10,000 signatures it will cost about five cents a signature or about \$500, plus five or six hundred notary signatures on that many sheets of petitions. It is estimated that it cost about \$700 in all to get the Party's ticket on the ballot in Oregon in 1924, which was paid by the National Office, with Comrade F. T. Johns in charge of the work. Since we now have a better organization in Oregon than four years ago

there is little reason to doubt but that we will get on the ballot this year. In 1924 in Oregon we polled 808 votes.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In this state the Party has suffered very greatly. There is virtually only one Section in good standing and that is Allegheny County which, however, is composed of several branches. A report was received recently from Erie where we had a struggling Section, which revealed that the Section had lapsed because of sickness and inability of the other members to attend to Party affairs. In Philadelphia the Section functions after a fashion but without the required minimum of members to keep the Section up to the standard. Special efforts will, of course, be made during the campaign to build up the Party in Philadelphia where we certainly ought to have a good Section. Comrade Zavells was largely instrumental in the past in keeping the Section in good working order, but due to a change in his way of making a living he has been compelled to be absent from the city at considerable periods, and partly as a result of that and partly because of other active members having moved out of the city, the Section finds itself in its present deplorable condition. Whatever assistance the National Office can give Philadelphia will, of course, be given both as to finances and the sending of speakers from New York from time to time.

The State Secretary reports that there are possibilities of organizing one or more Sections in the Allegheny territory which if accomplished would bring the state back somewhat to its old strength.

We have the following language Federation Branches in Pennsylvania: Bulgarian: Farrell; Hungarian: E. Pittsburg; Scandinavian: Warren; South Slavonian: Ambridge, Luzerne, Philadelphia and Sloven.

Getting on the Ballot.

The report from our Pennsylvania State Secretary is that there are no legitimate reasons why the Party's ticket cannot be placed on the ballot, although more than 5,000 are required. As we succeeded in getting on the ballot four years ago we may be reasonably sure of succeeding this year also. In 1924 in Pennsylvania we polled 654 votes.

RHODE ISLAND.

In Rhode Island we still have our Section in Providence which is never remiss in carrying on the agitation for the S. L. P. principles.

Getting on the Ballot.

We shall undoubtedly succeed in getting on the ballot in this state as we have not failed in the past. There is no formal report at hand as yet as to the requirements for getting on the ballot. In 1924 in Rhode Island we polled 268 votes.

VIRGINIA.

In this state we have suffered reverses chiefly because of lack of new material and because the old-timers have grown a good deal older and to a large extent have found it impossible to carry on organized work. Nevertheless, there are enough members in Virginia to enable us to get on the ballot with an electoral ticket. The former State Secretary, Comrade H. A. Muller (who, by the way, is in his eighty-fourth year) has recently been communicated with and he declares that the ticket

can be placed on the ballot and, knowing the comrade, we may reasonably take it for granted that this will be done. In Virginia we polled 189 votes in 1924.

WASHINGTON.

We have the following Sections in this state: Seattle, Spokane and Tacoma. These Sections are all active either in the sense of carrying on active agitation or contributing to the various Party undertakings.

We have a Bulgarian Branch at Spokane.

Getting on the Ballot.

To get on the ballot in Washington is a considerable undertaking, but the State Secretary reports that it is the purpose of the comrades to have the Socialist Labor Party represented on the ballot. Our State Secretary, Comrade Burgess, despite his having passed the three score and ten years quite some time ago, is active and always on the lookout for prospects either as members or subscribers to the Party organ. He adds in his report on requirements for getting on the ballot that "all we need is more 'pep' and more active members." It is not expected that the state will require any financial assistance from the National Office. In 1924 in Washington we polled 1004 votes.

WISCONSIN.

We have a Section in Milwaukee which is alive and active.

The following language Federation Branches are all in Milwaukee: Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian.

Getting on the Ballot.

A thousand signatures are required in this state to get on the ballot for

each individual county. These signatures may be gathered in any part of the state. The state reports that it will try to manage without outside assistance, although there is nothing certain about it at this time. In Wisconsin we polled 458 votes in 1924.

Language Federations.

BULGARIAN.

Separate reports are submitted by the Language Federations covering their activities and present status. Of the four S. I. P. Language Federations the Bulgarian is easily in the lead both with respect to membership as well as resources and activity. The Federation can always be depended upon to do its utmost to further the Party's agitation and to support it financially and otherwise. Moreover, there seems on the whole to be a much better understanding of Party organization and discipline within the Bulgarian Federation than is the case with any of the other Federations, with the possible exception of the Hungarian Federation which, to outward appearances, at least, is at all times a harmonious unit and working in a quiet but in an efficient and systematic manner.

The Bulgarian Federation has undertaken an ambitious building project, the idea being to erect a headquarters in the City of Detroit. Ground has already been purchased and paid for and a considerable amount has been collected for the purpose of erecting the building. More details concerning this matter will undoubtedly be dealt with in the Federation's report. If at any time there has been any hesitancy on our part with regard to the advisability

of proceeding with such a project, it has not been because of any lack of confidence in the Bulgarian comrades either as to their ability to carry a plan like that through, or in their faithful observance of all Party requirements in connection with such matters. The concern, to the extent it has found expression, has been chiefly over the general principle of a subdivision of a revolutionary working class organization holding extensive real estate, and partly in the effect that an intensive campaign for the building of a headquarters would have on the general financial status of the Party. While, as indicated elsewhere, the contributions received from the Bulgarian Federation through entertainments and so forth have fallen off considerably, there is no definite proof that that is caused by the activities incident to building the headquarters, although it is not unreasonable to suppose that it is the cause of that falling off, or that it at least has an important bearing on it. Particularly, fear has been expressed that during the national campaign of the Party the financial support usually received from our Bulgarian Federation for the furthering of the campaign would suffer if this building project were pushed energetically. Time alone will show whether such a fear was well founded.

The question of vesting this property directly in the Party as required by the constitution of the Party, has been before a couple of sessions of the N. E. C., and will without a doubt receive careful consideration when the proper time arrives. There is no question here, on the part of anybody, as to conform-

ing to the constitutional requirements in this respect. (The report of the Bulgarian Federation follows.)

Report of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation.

To the Socialist Labor Party, National Convention 1928.

Dear Comrades:—

Reporting for the period since the last Party convention of 1924, I may say at the outset that the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation, while not able to show any substantial gains in point of numbers, has, nevertheless, been making a continuous, though slow, progress in every other respect. To be sure, the progress does not measure up to the efforts made and for this reason is far from being satisfactory, but under the circumstances, and especially in view of the tremendous efforts on the part of our enemies, here and abroad, to hinder our work, it may, in a way, be considered the best possible.

As you already know, at the very eve of the last Party campaign we were confronted with a very fierce and vile campaign of lies and vilifications, carried on by the bunch of renegades and charlatans, soreheads and muddleheads, who had been thrown out of the Federation and who had joined the Workers party. No doubt this was prearranged with a view of damaging the Party campaign, by either discouraging our members and sympathizers or engaging us in a futile controversy and thus weaken our support to the Party. For some reason or another, at that time our Federation was considered by the leaders of the Workers party as the

"main prop" of the Socialist Labor Party. Therefore, being the good strategists they ever aspire to be, they thought it wise to strike at the "main prop" of the S. I. P. and thus give their party a better chance of making some showing abroad and thereby secure further support from abroad.

And seeing that this was not going to work as planned, later on other forces were called to their rescue. Just in the midst of the campaign we were called upon, by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist party, to commence collecting funds for the victims of the abortive Bulgarian Revolution of 1923. Expecting an adverse answer, this was followed by another call, this time addressed direct to the Branches and over the head of the Executive Committee, calling on them to arrange joint meetings with the Branches of the Workers party in protest against the Bulgarian Government for persecuting the Communists, and at the same time collect funds for the victims. By this they expected to cause confusion and possibly internal strife. And that their purpose was even worse was made plain by the communication that followed, a lengthy statement, prepared for publication, with a copy sent to the press of their hirelings, which, for its misstatement of facts, shallow reasoning, cheap sentimentality, contradictory matters and downright calumnies, perhaps has no equal. Then they admitted point blank that their aim was to break the organization—and this for the unpardonable sin it had committed by its affiliation with the Socialist Labor Party, which had become "counter-revolutionary"! 1

Needless to say, their tremendous efforts fell tremendously flat. As is always the case, the plans of the rats were upset by the cats. And it will be long before they can forget the defeat they met. Nearly two years now they have kept quiet—a very wise thing for them to do.

All the efforts to the contrary notwithstanding, we collected for the campaign fund nearly \$1,000 more than was collected for the previous campaign, though then we had nearly four times as many members and subscribers and many times as great a field to work, the number of our immigration being then much greater. Besides, while in the 1920 campaign very few of our members took active part in the work of distributing campaign literature, in the 1924 campaign very few, if any, did not take part in that work.

For the four years the collection for Party funds or money sent to the Party treasury is as follows: for the 1924 campaign fund \$6,579.02; National Organizer Fund, \$1,203.04; Vojnovich Defense Fund, \$3,943.40; Weekly People Fund, \$3,943.40; special assessment, \$532; convention assessment, \$523; and for dues stamps, \$1,783.40; total, \$14,882.31. Here, of course, do not enter the individual donations that are sent direct, as for the Weekly People Guard, for instance.

We have at present twenty-six branches in ten different states, namely: Detroit, Pontiac and Flint, Michigan; Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Mansfield and Lorain, Ohio; Chicago, Waukegan, Zeigler, Benton, Frankfort Heights, Madison and Granite City, Illinois; Ft. Wayne, Gary and Indianapolis, Indiana; New York City, Lackawanna and

Syracuse, New York; St. Louis, Mo.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Farrell, Pa.; Portland, Ore.; and Spokane, Wash. Total members, as per report for the year ending December 10, 1927 (later figures being unavailable), 524. The average membership for the four years 521. New members admitted for the four years 316, expelled 20, left the organization 33, dropped 211, left for old country 32, and died 8.

The circulation of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*, the organ of the Federation, is at present about 2,250. Prepaid subscriptions for the last year 1720. Sales for the four years \$11,615.89, and collections for the press fund \$12,876.75.

Besides the yearly *Almanac*, printed and distributed in about 3000 copies, we have printed eleven new pamphlets, namely: "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress" by De Leon in 2500 copies; "S.L.P. and the 3rd International," 1750; "Crises in European History" by Gustav Bang, 2000; "Woman and the Socialist Movement" by Olive M. Johnson, 2000; "Historical Materialism" by Franz Mehring, 2000; "Freedom and Necessity" by K. Shelaviv, 2000; "Pure Reason" by Vasa Pelagic, 2000; "Lesson from October" by Trotsky, 1600; and three of Richard Koeppl's plays, 1000 each. Literature sales for the four years, \$6,562.69.

Financial standing of the Federation, as per report December 10, 1927: Assets: cash \$22,155.30, machinery and equipment \$2,924.59, stock \$4,177.39, outstanding accounts \$1,906.21, real estate in Detroit \$9,727.62, total \$40,891.11. Liabilities: invested capital \$10,046.56, building of headquarters

fund, \$30,844.55, total \$40,891.11. Of the cash on hand, \$21,116.93 belongs to the building of headquarters fund.

Fraternally submitted,

By order of the
Executive Committee,
Theo. Baeff,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Granite City, Ill., April 27, 1928.

HUNGARIAN.

As mentioned above, the Hungarian Federation gives every outward indication of being in a sound condition and working along quiet and efficient lines. It should be mentioned here that our Hungarian comrades (or, more specifically, the Detroit Branch of the Hungarian S. L. P. Federation) is also planning to build a headquarters in the City of Detroit. This, too, has been the subject of discussion by the N.E.C. at some of its recent sessions.

(The report of the Hungarian Federation follows.)

Report of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation.

Dear Comrades:—

The report of the Hungarian Federation concerning its activities during the year of 1927 is as follows:

ORGANIZATION: It is with regret that I must say that last year we had no organizer in the field. Although at many Sub-Committee meetings there was much said about sending out an organizer and a comrade from Ohio was willing to be employed as national organizer, it has been delayed from month to month until we had to drop the whole question on account of finances —

which is always the obstacle in the way of carrying out all our undertakings. It has been also considered that without any organization fund, there was no assurance whatsoever that the organizer would be able to make his trip such a success that from his earnings his salary and expenses could be paid, because of the general unemployment. Even in a so-called prosperous year, when the workers are more able to subscribe for our press, buy literature or support our movement otherwise, an organizer very seldom makes enough to cover the expenses of his trip. This year being a presidential year, we will, by all means, have a national organizer in the field.

MEMBERSHIP: The Federation has at present twelve Branches with a total membership of about 250, same as in 1926. Some of our Branches lost, some gained in membership and among the new members we found a few who are able speakers and can do good work for the Party in many other ways besides lecturing.

LITERATURE: I cannot report having published any pamphlets last year, but under this head I want to mention that we have printed two propaganda leaflets in 10,000 copies; one addressed to those workers who own or partly own any property and therefore feel secure—very naively of course—against hard times and want; the other on unemployment, a very timely leaflet.

PRESS: The official organ of the Federation, *A Munkas* (The Worker) is printed in 2300 copies. It is published weekly and its subscription price is \$2 a year. During 1927 we had a subscription contest, the result being 150 new subscribers.

The prizes were given by our Cleveland Branch.

DEBTS: This is the sore spot in our Federation that causes much pain and anxiety every day of the year. To make this pain and anxiety more bearable, or—if possible—to get rid of it altogether, we have set ourselves to the task of doing away with our debts. That it is

high time to do this, you will see from the fact that our debt on March 31, 1928, was \$1,925.50. As the publisher, who is our creditor, has agreed to give us a satisfactory dis-

count in case we pay him a certain amount of cash during the month of May, we have started drives in many ways to bring this amount together. Just at this writing I received a letter from the secretary of our Detroit Branch in which he informs me that our Detroit comrades will "come across" with \$600. This letter gives us all the reason to hope that some of our other Branches will try to do at least half as much as the Detroit Branch and thereby make it possible for our debt-abolishing drive to materialize.

The financial report of the Federation from January 3, 1927, to December 31, 1927, is as follows:

Income, \$8,274.66; carried over from 1926, \$195.94; expenses, \$8,428.61; balance, \$41.99.

Concluding my report, I want to say that the membership of our Federation is sound in its conviction regarding the correctness of the S.L.P. principles. And this conviction—which is made stronger by the inability of the capitalist class and its Political State to solve the unemployment and many other problems of society—will keep our membership on the firing line, growing ever

bigger in strength and numbers, until the fight for the abolition of wage slavery, together with the capitalist system, and the fight for labor's freedom together with the establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic is won.

Fraternally yours,
Theodore Vaszily,
Sec'y H.S.I.F.

SCANDINAVIAN FEDERATION.

The Scandinavian Federation is unfortunately the one Federation which has suffered materially during the last eight years, i.e., ever since the disruptive outbreak practically split the Federation in twain. For a long time we had every reason to suppose that the Federation would grow and that its activities would increase. From time to time plans were formulated to stimulate the circulation of the official organ, the *Arbetaren*, but each time these plans were frustrated in one manner or another. While the *Arbetaren*, under the capable editorship of Comrade Thor Borg, has established itself as a publication in the Swedish language in this country without an equal, it has, on the other hand, failed to attain that relative financial security which it has striven for during these many years. As a matter of actual fact, the paper is in desperate financial straits, and while there is sufficient financial security in prospect, just at this time the paper is in a very large debt to the Party's printing plant. The security back of this debt is some property in Boston which, if sold within a short time, promises to yield a con-

siderable amount which will place the paper beyond danger for some time to come. But for this prospective financial security the management of the Party plant would, of course, not have felt justified in extending such a credit to the paper.

Among the subversive influences at work in connection with the Scandinavian Federation should be mentioned one or two disruptive outbreaks which have led to the expulsion of two branches, first the Jamestown Branch and secondly the Brooklyn Branch. The Jamestown expulsion resulted from a point-blank refusal on the part of the Branch to perform any work for the Federation, and in final defiance of the Federation headquarters. The expulsion of the Brooklyn Branch grew out of the obstruction offered by certain individuals in that Branch to the plans of the Federation headquarters to build up the *Arbetaren*. In that Brooklyn Branch there were one or two pernicious individuals who gave every evidence of being concerned more with their own ego and with securing paid jobs than with the building up of the paper. In that particular respect the Brooklyn Branch bears a very close resemblance to the disruptive outbreak in the Bronx, and this close resemblance, together with certain marked features common to the activities of both groups of disrupters, has led to the not unreasonable conclusion that the two are or were working in unison against the Party's best interests. That, however, is dealt with under a separate head.

In October 1927, when it became clear that the fate of the Federation and the *Arbetaren* were in a fair way of being settled in a manner contra-

ry to our wishes, the National Office took over the management of the paper and instituted a scientific system of bookkeeping. This not only meant a good deal more work for the National Secretary, who has had to give a great deal of his time to looking after the affairs and interests of the *Arbetaren*, but it has also added very considerably to the work of our bookkeeper. Whether we can continue to do this extra work indefinitely is a question. We are not afraid of work, but after all there is a limit somewhere.

At about the same time (last fall) the National Office of the Party sent a letter to each Branch of the Federation, outlining what steps had been taken by the N. E. C. Subcommittee to save the *Arbetaren*, and requesting from the Branches information as to what they could do to preserve and build up the Swedish Party organ. The following Branches were heard from: Quincy, Mass.; Lake View (Chicago), Ill.; Akron, Ohio; New York, N. Y.; Boston, Mass.

Of these only one Branch (New York) pledged substantial financial and other assistance, the other Branches simply promising to do the best they could. In justice to Branch Boston it should be added that it has had its hands full with looking after the Party's interests in the property referred to above. The Branch, in fact, deserves great credit for having safeguarded the Party's interests in the property these many years. The N. E. C. Subcommittee has recently appointed Comrade F. Hanson as the Party's special representative to look after the Party's interests in connection with the sale of this

property. Comrade Hanson may be depended on to discharge his duties in this respect faithfully and efficiently.

The following Branches were not heard from: Newark (Montclair), N. J.; Warren, Pa.; Lynn, Mass.; Hartford, Conn.; New Haven, Conn.; and Youngstown, Ohio. In the case of Branch Newark (Montclair) it ought to be stated here that the Branch has in a sense responded to the request for support, for its secretary, Comrade Victor Swanson, advanced \$500 to tide the paper over a most desperate period. The fact, however, that virtually only three or four Branches have rendered or pledged substantial support does not inspire great optimism with regard to the future of the *Arbetaren* and the Federation.

Recently the Federation has been reorganized, so to speak, with a new national secretary and a new National Executive Committee located in Boston and vicinity. It is hoped that as a result of this change the Federation will again forge ahead and establish itself as one of the leading Federations in the Party—a distinction which it enjoyed for many years up to the disruption of 1918-20.

(The report of the Scandinavian Federation follows.)

Report of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation.

The Seventeenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

Dear Comrades:

The Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation herewith renders its report to the Seventeenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor

Party. This report is merely a supplement to our report to the N.E.C. session of 1928, which follows:

"Dear Comrades:

"The Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation renders its report to your session 1928.....

"As to the Federation itself, one Branch was lost during the year, namely, Brooklyn, N. Y. Two Branches, New Britain, Conn., and Minneapolis, Minn., gave up the struggle as a result of decreasing membership. In Chicago, Ill., Branch Gristan, or what was left of this Branch, merged with Branch Bramtiden. Branch Montclair, N. J., also merged with Branch Newark, N. J., under the name Branch Mont-Newark. This leaves thirteen Branches.

"Akron, O., 5 members; Boston, Mass., 8 members; Bramtiden, Chicago, Ill., 7 members; Hartford, Conn., 5 members; Lake View, Chicago, Ill., 5 members; Lynn, Mass., 5 members; Mont-Newark, Newark, N. J., 8 members; New Haven, New Haven, Conn., 7 members; New York, New York, N. Y., 16 members; Quincy, Quincy, Mass., no report; Proletaren, Waltham, Mass., no report; Warren, Pa., 6 members; Youngstown, Youngstown, O., 9 members.

"During the year 1927, 1,002 dues stamps were sold, which means that eighty-four members were fully paid up during the year. Literature sale amounted to \$198.86. To the Federation funds was donated \$1,238.66.

"To Convention Mileage Fund, \$28.75; Vojnovich Defense Fund, \$2.50; National Organizer Fund, \$2;

National Office Deficit Assessment Fund, \$47.

"Landkaening, our midwinter publication, was also published in 1927 in 3,500 copies, and we figure on a net profit of from \$400 to \$450.

"Comrade O. Linberg was maintained as agent and sub-getter until the first part of September, his wages being paid by the Federation.

"From January 1 up to October 15, 1927, the *Arbetaren* income from subscriptions was \$4,133.62, and from advertising \$5,227.37. Assessments and donations to the paper during the same period amounted to \$1,413.16. The paper also borrowed \$970 from members.

"From January 1 to October 15, 1927, our debt to the Party plant increased \$869.87, totaling on the latter date \$1,344.74.....

"A new National Executive Committee and Federation Secretary have just been elected, and will take office on the first of May.

"Since the Party is now publishing the *Arbetaren* and taking care of its management, the Federation can devote more time to the building up of itself, and carry on its activity for increasing the circulation of the Swedish Party organ.

"I hope that the Scandinavian Federation will be able to render a better report to your next meeting.

"Fraternalism submitted.

"By the order of the Scand. S.L.F. N. E. C. Sub-Committee,

"C. A. Forsberg,
Secretary.

"New York, N. Y., April 25."

Shortly after the Party's sixteenth national convention, four years ago, the Scandinavian Federa-

tion held its own convention. That was in May 1924. Four years

earlier we had the split, when the traitors came near succeeding in their efforts to destroy the organization and the Swedish Party organ.

It was a hard fight, but the paper was saved and the Federation also, though the membership was reduced to a couple of hundred members, or a little less than that. At the Federation convention in 1924 the outlook was rather promising, the circulation of the *Arbetaren* had increased a little since the split in 1920 and the spirit was good. The convention worked out plans for building up the *Arbetaren* as well as for general activity and we had reason to expect real progress in the near future. But these hopes did not come true. In spite of the enthusiasm shown at the convention we were soon to find that a large portion of the membership commenced to lag behind, especially in their activity for the *Arbetaren*, and also in other respects. A spirit of indifference seemed to have gained prevalence in the ranks.

During the split and coup of 1920 we had found that the constitution of the Federation was woefully deficient in some respects, particularly regarding the upholding of Party discipline. We had learned a lesson, and at the convention of 1924 the constitution of the Federation was amended to the fullest possible conformity with the constitution of the Party. This meant a more rigid discipline, and it appeared that we still had among us some members who were not willing to accept that.

The convention also decided on certain methods or lines of action for

the purpose of building up the finances of the *Arbetaren* and for the conduct of the business office. Already then it was clear that the membership could not increase nor even maintain the circulation of *Arbetaren* by their voluntary efforts alone. If the *Arbetaren* was to be kept alive, sound business methods must be put into operation. The circulation of the paper had to be increased, which could be done only with the assistance of paid solicitors or agents. At the convention all this was clearly understood, and the lines of activity for the paper were laid out accordingly, and all the decisions of the convention were approved by the membership in a general vote. Still there were some members, it appeared, who did not see the necessity of adhering to the working plans laid out by the convention, and there were a few others who eagerly grasped the opportunity to make use of these members for the purpose of furthering their personal intrigues against the paper and the movement. This culminated in the expulsion, in August 1927, of the Brooklyn Branch, and another Branch, that of Jamestown, N. Y., was expelled in January of the same year not only because of inactivity in every respect, but on account of frank and absolute refusal on the part of the Branch and its members to do any work for the paper and the organization.

Instead of supporting the plans worked out by the convention, the Federation membership, in many parts of the country, to a considerable extent indulged in endless discussions on matters that did not belong at the Branch meetings at all, but did belong and had to be decided

by the Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of the Federation. Constructive work was neglected, with the result that the paper had to suffer. In the Brooklyn Branch, which was expelled later, the disrupters actually and deliberately went to work to obstruct and undo the efforts of the Federation Sub-Committee and the management to build up the paper and to save it from destruction.

It is a very small number of men and women who have made it possible for the *Arbetaren* to pull through during these four years. The Federation membership is now only about eighty.

With the inactivity of the membership as a whole, it finally became impossible for the Sub-Committee of the Federation to publish the paper and to meet the bills for rent and printing, etc., and in October 1927 the Party had to take over the publishing of the *Arbetaren*, resulting in a considerable decrease in operating expenses, though with added labor on the part of the officers of the Federation.

In the following we will try to show, by figures, how the finances have balanced during the last four years, and also the fluctuation in membership:

Scandinavian S.L.F. membership based upon the sale of dues stamps: 1924, 160; 1925, 125; 1926, 120; 1927, 80.

Arbetaren, income per week from sale of subs: 1924, \$138; 1925, \$137; 1926, \$106; 1927 (Jan. 1 to Oct. 15), \$99. Income per week from advertising: 1924, \$130; 1925, \$136; 1926, \$134; 1927 (Jan. 1 to Oct. 15), \$125.

Landskanning, net proceeds from:

1924, \$1,020; 1925, \$1,245; 1926, \$675; 1927, about \$450.
Sale of literature: 1924, \$452.04; 1925, \$346.09; 1926, \$307.05; 1927, \$198.36.

Donations to different funds: 1924, \$3,367.15; 1925, \$4,342.42; 1926, \$4,486.52; 1927, \$4,416.52.

Besides the publishing of the *Arbetaren* and the *Landskanning* (Christmas magazine), the Federation has published a new pamphlet (only one) since the last convention. This is a Swedish translation of the "Socialist Labor Party and the Third International." A few new editions of old pamphlets have been published.

The above figures will show that the contributions to the paper have been practically the same or even amounted to a greater sum with the decrease of the membership. This will show that the supporters of the paper are, to a very great extent, to be found among the sympathizers.

It ought to be pointed out that the subscription list has not decreased in the same proportion as shown by the figures from sale of subs. Of the sale of subs for the last year, and especially during the last half year, at least seventy-five per cent represents subs sent in without efforts on the part of the membership. Only a few years ago the situation was actually the reverse. If now the membership would just do a little, the list would increase, our financial problems would be nearly solved and, furthermore, greater justice done to the mission of the Swedish organ.

By taking over the publishing of *Arbetaren* the Party has made an attempt to save its Swedish organ. Everything possible has been done

to decrease the cost of publishing. With the Federation, as a unit of the Party, rests today the duty of upholding the Party's Swedish organ. It must be admitted, it cannot be denied that the membership as a whole for a long time has been lacking in a sense of responsibility in this respect. But all this can be remedied. Now that the Federation has been reorganized and has elected a new secretary and a new Executive Committee, it is to be hoped that more activity will be shown by the members. The outlook would not be very encouraging if it were not for the prospect of getting a few thousand dollars from the sale of People's Park in Boston. With that money as a help we ought to be able to build up the paper to become self-supporting, and it surely can be done, provided the membership, taken as a whole, will become more active.

It is hardly necessary to point out that there is a great need of a Swedish S. L. P. organ and that the *Arbetaren* has an important mission to fulfill. If the *Arbetaren* should cease to exist, it would mean that the fifty or more capitalist and reactionary Swedish papers, published in this country, would have free play; it would mean an open field among the Swedish-speaking workers for the burlesque bolsheviks, with their unspeakable so-called paper, for instance. These gentry are loudly proclaiming almost every week how much they fear *Arbetaren* and how intensely they hate it. If the *Arbetaren* did not exist, the S. L. P. voice would no longer be heard among the Swedish-speaking workers of America, and it would not be heard in Sweden—the *Arbetaren* is

known and read there too. There certainly is a wide field for a Swedish S. L. P. organ, and a way must be found for the maintenance and strengthening of the paper.

From time to time we have tried different methods to increase the number of readers. The results have been more or less satisfactory. No method has been a remarkable success. Subscription contests have totally failed. Of late the business office has adopted a new policy for collection of outstanding subscription fees and with fairly good results, thereby relieving the membership of a bulk of work. Let us hope that the members hereafter will take advantage of this and use the time to work for new subscriptions!

Another obstacle has been to get suitable persons as agents. At present we have \$100 deposited with the National Office as a conditional donation for a sub-getter's wages, but we have so far been unable to find a suitable and willing person to tackle the job.

We have now called attention to our various difficulties, and only want to add that they do not seem to us impossible to overcome. With will to work and concerted efforts we shall overcome them.

Fraternally,
Scandinavian S. L. P.,
C. A. Forsberg,
Retiring Secretary.

SOUTH SLAVONIAN.

This Federation has also suffered during the last few years, chiefly due to internal disturbances of one kind or another. These will be dealt with separately. Necessarily,

the activities of the Federation are adversely affected to the extent that such disruptive outbreaks occur. It is to be hoped that with the recent drastic action taken by the Central Committee of the South Slavonian Federation, these outbreaks will have come to a definite end.

As you know, one of the members of the South Slavonian Federation, Comrade M. Vojnovich, had for many years been subjected to the persecution of the capitalist government at Washington, especially (and characteristically enough!) by the Department of Labor. The Party exerted every effort possible to frustrate the efforts of the Department of Labor and succeeded in staying the hand of the government for several years. At last, however, an utterly arbitrary and, judicially speaking, outrageous decision was rendered, the said decision having no relation whatever to the facts in the case. An attempt was made to carry the case to the United States Supreme Court, but the learned justices of that august body refused to interest themselves in the matter. Accordingly, Comrade Vojnovich was deported in the summer of 1926, leaving his family here. One may reflect on this matter and wonder as to the degree of satisfaction which a mighty capitalist government, and particularly its Department of Labor, may have derived from disrupting the family of a workman who had committed no crime other than to disagree with the powers that be as to the blessings that flow from the prevailing social order. The action once more demonstrates the inherently class-conscious character of the capitalist politicians in Washington, and it adds peculiar emphasis to the

contention justly made, that a rich man may get away with anything under our laws, whereas a poor man need not even commit a crime in order to be dealt with as a criminal or an undesirable member of the community.

(The report of the South Slavonian Federation follows.)

Report of the South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federation.

Dear Comrades:

The South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federation herewith renders its report for year ending December 31, 1927.

During the year that has passed the Federation, carrying on its agitation among the South Slavonian workers along the line of the revolutionary principles of the Socialist Labor Party, has been confronted with many difficulties on its way.

Capitalism, however, is our enemy that we aim to abolish. But there are a number of its agencies and supporters, a number of things which we should put away to clear our field for a final attack on capitalism as a whole.

As a language subdivision of the Party, we carry on our agitation and education chiefly among South Slavonian workers. According to the latest statistics there are about 600,000 South Slavonians in this country, 350,000 foreign born and 250,000 native born. They consist of three so-called tribes: the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. The first two find it easy to understand one another because they are identical as far as languages and dialects are concerned, but with the latter it does not go so easy. Among them

there are a number of various organizations, socialistic, communistic, fraternal, benevolent, athletic and what not. Some of these organizations, especially benevolent societies, are strong in numbers and financially.

These South Slavonian benevolent fraternal organizations are not of the Metropolitan Life Insurance type, they do not limit their business to sick and death affairs, they are nests of patriotism, nationalism, religionism and what not. In the ranks of the Slovenian workers the so-called Socialist party has some followers, while in the ranks of Serbs and Croats there are none that we know of. The South Slavonian Federation of the Socialist party, consisting chiefly of Slovenes and Croats, years ago split in two. One remained in the Socialist party, the other joining the burlesque communists.

The South Slavonian workers being thus composed, small in numbers and split in a hundred and one factions, the situation and circumstances under which we have to carry on our work are very hard. Nevertheless, our Federation, being a clear-cut revolutionary organization, is one of the most respectable organizations among South Slavonian workers.

Years ago we tried to extend our influence upon the Slovenian workers. For that purpose we published a paper, the *Socialistna Zvezda* (Socialist Dawn), sent out organizers and succeeded in collecting about 1,000 subscriptions to that paper and organized a few Branches. But due to lack of well-posted S. L. P. men who understand their language, besides lack of finances, we were com-

pelled to discontinue the paper and recall the organizers, and consequently those branches, after a short life, were disbanded.

In the previous presidential election years these various South Slavonian organizations were not interested in the elections. They considered these things as a foreigner would and didn't bother with them. Now they have changed their attitude. Through their papers and other means they take a very active part in the present presidential campaign. However, following their American masters, they choose Mr. Hoover as their candidate for President of the United States.

There is another thing I wish to inform you about. Recently a boom and plenty of noise were made by a flock of priests and Serbian fraternal organizations for establishing the Orthodox Episcopacy in this country through which they aim to take away all the churches and properties built and bought during many years by the Serbian workers. There are not sufficient pastures in Jugo-Slavia for them and they come over here to hunt for them. The acts of the said organization and priests created a turmoil in the ranks of their membership.

Here, I wish to mention one interesting thing. In Jugo-Slavia we have several comrades who used to be here as our members for a number of years, among them Comrade Kosta Kostich. While there he works very hard for the Socialist Labor Party. The other day we received a letter from him saying that in cooperation with our sympathizers, they have organized a Branch in Jugo-Slavia, and now the question is: What to do with the Branch?

Comrade Kostich wants to affiliate the Branch with the Socialist Labor Party of America, but doesn't know how it can be done and requests information about it. I will turn this matter over to the National Office and see what we can do about it.

In March this year the Central Committee of the Federation expelled and reorganized Branch Detroit. The cause for this act is that a few members in the Branch became disloyal, denouncing our convention of 1927 and its resolutions as being bourgeois and having resorted to bourgeois methods. These disruptive elements succeeded in beclouding the simplest matters and also in distorting the mental outlook of the majority of the Branch members. The Central Committee felt that it is its most serious duty to dismember those elements of the Party in the best interest of the organization. Now, the Branch is reorganized and consists of nineteen members.

Under such conditions and circumstances we had to carry out our revolutionary work, and considering all of them we obtained pretty good results, as will be shown in this report.

The South Slavonian Federation consists of twenty-one Branches and about 375 members. There is no considerable gain or loss in point of Branches and members. Most of the Branches and members are active but there are some of them who, for one reason or another, are inactive. We believe this is the case, more or less, with all the Party units. Nevertheless, the Federation's activities increased to a certain degree during 1927.

The mailing list of *Radnicka Borba* in 1926 showed 2,625 sub-

scriptions. At the end of 1927 its mailing list showed 2,850 subs. Total subs gathered in 1927, 2,993 or 249 per month. Total income for subs, \$5,074.75.

Some gains were made in literature sales. In 1926 literature sold for \$3,872.86; in 1927, \$4,283.42. As usual, we published 7,500 copies of an *Almanac* of 124 pages for 1927 (fifty cents per copy); 1,500 copies "Daniel De Leon's Birthday," five cents per copy, and a few weeks ago 3,000 copies of "Fifteen Questions" came off the press, thirty-five cents per copy. Also the Central Committee decided to translate and publish, first in the columns of *Radnicka Borba*, then in book form, the Sue books. We intend to start in May or June this year. The Central Committee also decided not to publish the *De Leonist*, May Day magazine, for the following reasons: (a) financially it hardly pays to publish it; (b) The "Fifteen Questions" being off the press a few weeks before the *De Leonist* would compete with the *De Leonist*; (c) being the national campaign year we wish to concentrate our efforts on the National Campaign Fund and also on our affairs and to avoid all unnecessary expenses.

At present we have two organizers in the field, Comrades R. M. Albjanich and J. Radmanovich. Both of them work pretty well, especially Comrade Albjanich who for about fourteen months made over \$800 surplus. During the year we had for a short time several organizers besides.

Financially we have not much to show but just enough to make ends meet and carry on our business. Financial statement of the Federation

for year ending December 31, 1927, is as follows:

Balance, January 1, 1927, \$401.66. Cash receipts: *Radnicka Borba* subs., \$5,074.75; literature sold, \$4,283.42. *Weekly People* subs., \$335.50; Party's funds, \$1,723.63; printing plant, \$2,949.55; all others, \$8,054.64; total, \$22,823.15. Expenditures, \$22,624.08. Cash balance January 1, 1928, \$199.07.

The assets of the Federation are \$28,389.23; liabilities, \$2,804.17; balance capital, \$25,585.06.

With best wishes for the S. L. P., I remain

Faternally yours,
Milos Malenich,
Secretary.

Cleveland, O., April 27.

Our Greek comrades, though not organized in a Federation, and few as they are, are continuing their efforts to build up a Greek S. L. P. movement in this country. Under the energetic direction of Comrade P. Coronos the Greek Branch in Detroit has been issuing bulletins in Greek in which the activities of the Greek S. L. P. Group are recounted, and in which acknowledgments are made of funds collected for one purpose or another. Somewhat less than a thousand dollars has been collected to date for the reissuing of a Greek S. L. P. organ. Also at the present time the Party's pamphlet, "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," is ready to be put on the press in Greek translation. The Greek comrades also intend to translate Party leaflets, one of which (Unemployment) is now being considered for initial publication.

Our Ukrainian comrades in Akron

also carry on special agitation among workers in that language, but of late that agitation seems to have died out. At least, there is no outward indication that anything special is being done in that line, although we have considerable literature in the Ukrainian language.

Since writing the foregoing the following letter has been received from Comrade R. Zarembo:

"Akron, O., May 2, 1928.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
45 Rose St.,
New York, N. Y.

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"Regarding activity of the Ukrainian Organizing Committee of the Socialist Labor Party I wish to inform you as follows:

"The most of our activity was when we were publishing our monthly paper *Robitnychij Holos*. The paper was published from February 1922 to April 1926. But being short of money we were unable to continue our publication. Since we stopped publishing our paper we have already translated a few De Leon pamphlets as follows: 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society,' 'Reform or Revolution and 'Burning Question of Trades Unionism.' Also we have on hand a translation of the 'Revolutionary Act' by Engels.

"Here in this country there is a Ukrainian Workingmen's Association with headquarters in Scranton, Pa., which is sympathetic to the Socialist Labor Party. That organization has a paper named *Narodna Wola* published three times a week. As you know, I had come in contact with that organization and in their paper were published two De Leon pam-

phlets: 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society' and 'Reform or Revolution.' The composition of both of those pamphlets was saved and we have already published 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society' at a small cost. 'Reform or Revolution' will be published soon. The first we published in 1,000 copies and we have sold a good number already.

Also I wish to inform you that the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association has many thousands of members and through their paper we reach thousands of Ukrainian workers in this country, and with those two De Leon pamphlets we throw among them enough light and material to furnish food for thought. We haven't had any opposition to that pamphlet from anywhere, but also the Ukrainian workers are not ripe yet to grasp the idea and act accordingly. To both of those De Leon pamphlets Comrade Kuhn wrote very interesting prefaces which give good information to Ukrainian workers in this country and also in Socialist Soviet Ukraine in regard to the position of the Socialist Labor Party. We have sent many copies of 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society' to different institutions throughout the Soviet Ukraine. Also we were sending many copies of our paper while we were publishing it and we received very often letters asking for De Leon pamphlets, etc., and we always sent some. But we haven't received any replies.

"We have on hand the following pamphlets in the Ukrainian language: 'What Means This Strike?' 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society,' 'Industrial Unionism,' by De Leon-Debs. 'Woman and the Socialist Movement,' by Olive M. Johnson.

'Socialism,' by Holmes. 'State Ownership vs. Socialism,' by C. Hotson. 'Karl Marx and Forty Years After,' by De Leon and Olive M. Johnson. All of that literature is about \$1,500 in value.

"Here in Akron we had a Ukrainian Branch of the S. L. P. but we had only eight members. So we decided about two years ago to join the English Section and help to build up the Section, and also we spread our agitation among Ukrainian workers in this city. We got many good sympathizers who always attend Section lectures and mass meetings. But we were unable to get them into the Section. So last Sunday, April 29, all those sympathizers called a meeting in our headquarters and organized a Ukrainian Branch of the S. L. P. with seven members. One of our comrades, K. Mytenko, transferred from the Section to the Ukrainian Branch, but others still remain in the Section and also we will help the Ukrainian Branch in their work.

"So, as you see, small as we are in numbers, we all do all in our power to spread S. L. P. principles among Ukrainian workers in this country and help to build up the S. L. P. all we can.

"Fraternally yours,
"R. Zarembo."

Party Membership.

The membership has declined somewhat during the last four years. On the basis of dues stamps sold and reports at hand the membership indicated is about 2,000. The falling off is due partly to unemployment, partly to the disruptive outbreaks that have taken place

during the four years, and partly to natural causes. The demand for exemption stamps indicates considerable unemployment which, of course, affects adversely the sale of dues stamps. During the period of 1925-26, 403 exemption stamps were supplied to the subdivisions; during 1926-27, 470 such stamps were supplied and during the last year, 1927-28, 555 exemption stamps were supplied. There is every reason to suppose that if every active sympathizer would join the organization the membership would be almost double what it now is. There are no doubt legitimate reasons for the failure of some S. L. P. sympathizers actually to join the organization, but, on the other hand, it seems as if a great many of the sympathizers could and should join as active members of the Party.

Party Organs.

The Party now publishes the following weekly publications: *Weekly People* (English), *Rabotnicheska Prosveta* (Bulgarian), *A Munkes* (Hungarian), *Arbetaren* (Scandinavian), *Radnicka Borba* (South Slavonian).

In addition to these the Bulgarian Federation issues a yearly *Almanac*. The Scandinavian Federation publishes an annual Christmas publication, entitled *Landskaening*. The South Slavonian Federation also publishes an annual *Almanac* and has also been publishing in recent years a May Day magazine, entitled *De Leonist*.

Internal Disturbances.

As intimated elsewhere, the last four years have not been free from

disruptive outbreaks. The first resulted in the expulsion of Section Los Angeles. The story concerning the trouble in Los Angeles has been fully told and need not be repeated here. The Section was expelled during the summer of 1925 and immediately reorganized. The Section has been very active since then with an occasional lull, but on the whole the activities of the Section during the last four years have been much better than they were before the expulsion and reorganization.

In Boston we have had considerable trouble from time to time. There is no indication that these troubles are due to any disruptive activities on the part of trouble makers. Rather, the trouble seems to have been due to lack of understanding regarding Party procedure in connection with carrying on the Party's agitation. At one time the N.E.C. sent Comrades P.E. De Lee and F. E. Passomo to Boston in an effort to settle the trouble. The effort was successful to the extent of settling the particular difficulty then disturbing the Section. The Section just now is rather weak numerically, but apparently working harmoniously.

A minor disturbance took place in Seattle during the last year or so. Two of the members of the Section took it upon themselves to issue statements and lampoons broadcast, heedless even of whether these lampoons and circulars fell into the hands of members or enemies of the Party. These two individuals showed such a total disregard of all organization procedure as to leave the Section little choice in respect to disciplining them. Section Seattle, however, showed itself fully equal to

the situation and promptly expelled them. These two individuals went on this disruptive rampage primarily because of some editorials that had appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE dealing with the question of structure and form of Industrial Unionism. The matter will undoubtedly be dealt with by the Editor in her report, and in any event it is of no particular importance to us here now.

As intimated previously, the Scandinavian Federation has had its share of internal disruption during the last year or so. About a year or so ago the Branch in Jamestown placed itself in open defiance of the Federation's National Office. The Branch practically took the position that it was under no obligation to do any work whatever, and so long as the members paid their dues they had complied with all the formal requirements of membership in the S. L. P. Eventually it became a question of upholding order and discipline and the N. E. C. of the Federation finally expelled the Branch. Recently there has been received by the National Office an application for an English Section at Jamestown, some of the applicants being among those that were expelled by the Scandinavian Federation. Just why the Branch put itself in a position where the N. E. C. of the Federation found it necessary to expel it, since the members evidently desire to remain members of the Party, is not easy to determine. The conduct of these ex-members in Jamestown runs parallel to the conduct of others who have been expelled in the past. They act irrationally and seem to have forgotten completely (if ever they knew) what organization procedure

and revolutionary discipline mean. They seem to share the idea that if they are put out of one door they can walk in through the other as if nothing had happened. It is unfortunate that these individuals (most of whom undoubtedly are well-meaning and sincere) placed themselves in so indefensible a position. There is a good field in Jamestown for a Scandinavian Branch, and even for an English Section for that matter, and it is hoped that either one or the other will be established out of material that is not only suitable for the Party, but also amenable to organization principles and discipline.

The second and far more serious outbreak took place in the Brooklyn Branch of the Scandinavian Federation. It had long been clear that there was a minority element within that Branch which was undesirable from the Party standpoint. A self-seeking and unscrupulous egotist had succeeded in fastening himself upon the Branch and in confusing the bulk of the membership concerning matters that should have created little if any dissension in the first place. It was attempted to get the Branch to discipline the one or two offending members in the Branch, but without success, leaving the N. E. C. of the Federation no choice but to expel the entire Branch. We understand that they subsequently organized as an independent group, carrying on propaganda against the Federation and its officers, though pretending all the time to serve and work for the principles of the Party and even for the building up of the paper (*Arbetaren*) which, intentionally or otherwise, they had previously done their utmost to prevent. In this re-

spect they form a very close parallel to the activities of the expelled disrupters in the Bronx, and there is every reason to suppose that the two groups are in league. As yet no new Branch has been reorganized in Brooklyn. It seems that the active disrupters have succeeded in poisoning the minds of those who otherwise would furnish good material for a Scandinavian Brooklyn Branch. As soon as means are available steps will be taken to build up an organization of Scandinavian workers in Brooklyn.

The South Slavonian Federation has also had its full share of disruptive outbreaks. For a number of years there have been disturbing influences at work within the Federation. The precise causes for these disturbances have never been clear. Outwardly and in part, at least, they seem to have taken the form of personal animosities and personal ambitions that were not satisfied. A year or more ago Branch Akron occupied the center of the stage in these troubles. The difficulties were at last settled so far as Akron was concerned, and at the Federation convention in September 1927 the entire trouble within the Federation was dealt with. Comrade Henry Kahn was the Party's fraternal delegate to that convention and with his assistance our South Slavonian comrades apparently succeeded in putting an end to the difficulty. This, however, later turned out to have been a mistaken idea. The line of division within the Federation appeared to have formed itself with the present editor and national secretary of the Federation on the one side, and the former national secretary (and, incidentally, also a former

editor of the South Slavonian paper), S. Kontrim, on the other side. The supporters of S. Kontrim (or some of them) did not seem to have been satisfied with the decisions of the convention. One of them, a member of the Detroit Branch, returned to his Branch (which he had represented as a delegate to the Federation convention) and in the guise of a reporter of the convention not only assailed what the convention had decided, but also misrepresented and misinterpreted the methods adopted by the convention in settling the trouble. All sorts of slanderous utterances were applied to the acts of the convention and of some of the delegates. When this matter came to the notice of the Central Committee of the South Slavonian Federation, the Detroit Branch was ordered to discipline the offending member. At first the Branch refused to do so, but finally it did put him under charges, found him not guilty and then sentenced him to be suspended for two consecutive business meetings. This obviously was a farcical procedure and was naturally interpreted by the Central Committee of the Federation as a slap in its face, as well as making a travesty of Party discipline and organization principles. No doubt feeling that the Branch had been reasoned with sufficiently, the Central Committee of the Federation, by an almost unanimous vote (only one against), decided to expel and reorganize Branch Detroit. The usual violent outbreak accompanied this trouble in Detroit. Those expelled from this Branch, too, reorganized themselves as an independent group, though whether it still exists as such is not known at the

time of writing. At any rate, an organized effort was made to enlist the support of the National Organization of the Party as against the Central Committee of the South Slavonian Federation, to which effort, unfortunately, some of our other subdivisions in Detroit unwittingly lent a hand. The Branch, however, has been reorganized and is now functioning again, though, as stated before, with not quite the same numerical strength as at the time prior to the expulsion.

As you know we had considerable trouble in Section Bronx. All the facts concerning the events that led to the disruption of the Section have been given in detail in the report submitted to the National Executive Committee in annual session 1927. The N. E. C. after an exhaustive inquiry decided unanimously to expel Section Bronx and to reorganize it immediately. This was done successfully and about a dozen or so of the disrupters and their supporters were left out in the reorganization process. For the first time in several years Section Bronx has enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity and has been able to carry on constructive work for the organization. It is now in fine condition. Barring Section Akron, Ohio, which recently sent a contribution of \$400 for the Campaign Fund, Section Bronx has probably taken the lead in raising funds for the national campaign.

The expelled disrupters subsequently organized into a separate group, pretending to carry on S. I. P. agitation and making every effort to pass itself off as a legitimate S. I. P. group. It has sported the Party's emblem and chosen a designation so closely resembling that of the Party

as to all but constitute a fraudulent attempt at passing itself off as a Party Section. Of course, S. I. P. members and most sympathizers would not be likely to be deceived by the fraud, but some sympathizers and others not acquainted with the Party might easily be, and undoubtedly some were, imposed upon. The N. E. C. Sub-Committee found it necessary to instruct the Party's attorney to take this matter up and threaten legal action if these disrupters did not cease their efforts at using the Party's emblem in connection with raising funds. When they first organized their opposition group they commenced to mail out to the members of the N. E. C. a series of lampoons in which they themselves attested to their undying loyalty to the S. I. P. Such protestations, in the face of the pernicious organized propaganda that they were carrying on, were not merely an insult to the organization, but they were stupidly absurd as well. When one of our N. E. C. members, Comrade De Lee, received their first lampoon he sent it to the National Secretary with the note: "They are running true to form." When they sent their second lampoon out the same N. E. C. member, Comrade De Lee, promptly and properly demanded that they cease to annoy him, at the same time telling them in plain language what he thought of them and their efforts. Comrade De Lee did so in a letter addressed to the particular individual who posed as the "organizer" of this fake group, which was dated June 30, 1927. The letter is reproduced here, partly for the sake of the record and partly because it correctly sums up the attitude of the Party

toward expelled disrupters, especially when they continue their organized disruptive efforts against the Party after they have been expelled. The letter follows:

"Dear Sir:

"I received what you call your first report of your activities as an organized group to spread S. I. P. principles, and I hereby notify you and your group, that whatever you and they have been in the past, you are now a group of expelled members from the S. I. P., doing whatever you can to discredit the S. I. P. I consider your report an insult, and will in the future, if I receive any more communications from you, consign them to the waste basket without reading them. If you wish to communicate with me as a member of the N. E. C. of the S. I. P., address all communications to our National Secretary, etc., etc.

"Hoping that some of you will become sane again, I am

"Yours,

"P. E. De Lee."

This did not seem to have much of an effect upon them for they continued to send out their lampoons and later another N. E. C. man, Comrade Zavells, felt impelled to rebuke them and he did so in a letter in which he, among other things, stated that "to make it plain to you I want to say that I look upon your 'league' as anti-S. I. P."

At the same time they had made one desperate attempt after another to secure some sort of recognition from the National Office as an independent group. First they applied for membership in the Weekly People Guard as a group and were promptly rejected. Thereupon they commenced to purchase small quanti-

ties of pamphlets and insisted upon discount. When they were refused discount they "reported" this "outrage" in their next lampoon to the members of the N. E. C. So that in the first place they felt themselves improperly dealt with because we would not take their money, and in the second place they thought themselves unjustly dealt with because we would not give them money. Throughout they have acted partly like a lot of lunatics and partly like a lot of children, and, of course, the comedy touch has not been wanting. Thus they amused themselves with drawing up a "constitution" which among other things provided that the group, composed of disrupters *expelled from the S. L. P.*, would not admit anyone *expelled from the S. L. P.* But whatever they have done they have succeeded in exhibiting themselves as an unscrupulous group of disrupters bent on doing all the mischief and trouble that they were capable of. Little or no attention has been paid to them which, of course, has enraged them still more and caused a flowing over of the cup of viciousness and vilification directed against the Party and its officers. Lately they have bombarded members and those they have considered prospective delegates with a lampoon containing an extract of a document which, in part, was read by one of their leaders to the special committee of the N. E. C. which was considering the case of Section Bronx a year ago. This document has a sort of preamble which contains the usual lies and misrepresentations that we have become so familiar with in our dealings with them before they were expelled. As expert liars this group of disrupters is probably with-

out an equal. Numerous instances were cited in the report of the N. E. C. They would assert a thing in one breath, and in the next deny the thing just asserted in order to crawl out of a hole. As quickly as one mendacity was exposed, they had another ready, as if they wanted to furnish modern instances of the poet Pope's dictum:

"Destroy the fib, or sophistry, in vain.
The creature's at his dirty work again."

One of the most outstanding examples of this kind is the assertion that in attacking the figures used by the Party in connection with illustrating the degree of exploitation, they did not attack the figures in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" nor De Leon's use of these figures and his reasoning that connection. Yet, if there is anything that is palpable and to the normal and honest mind conclusive, it is the fact that, to begin with, they were unequivocal in their attack on, if you like, in their opposition to the figures in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" and the use De Leon made of them and his reasoning applied in that connection. In the letters which the three leading disrupters had written to the editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the theme is worked over and over again with a unanimity and similarity in method that proves cooperative efforts on the part of these disrupters.

For example, in the letter to the Editor signed J. Brandon, dated May 11, 1926, the following passage occurs: "For a speake to insist upon using these census figures is to

leave himself open to attack, and for no reason at all."

In the letter written by I. Oving to the Editor, dated May 8, 1926, we find the following: "For an S. L. P. man to use such statistics is to lay himself open to contradiction."

And in the letter to the Editor signed J. Diamond, dated May 11, 1926, we find the following: "The S. L. P. position is not dependent upon these false census figures and they should never be used by us to prove anything."

As stated, notwithstanding these emphatic declarations, when the disrupters were subsequently faced with the logic of their contentions, they asserted over and over again that their contentions did not touch upon the figures in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" at all, nor was De Leon in any sense an object of their attack or criticism. Their arguments in this connection reveal a mental crookedness that explains a good many things that otherwise would not be quite clear. They never had any scruples whatever about lying and uttering one falsehood after another, however palpable and absurd. Individuals capable of the things that they have been guilty of are obviously unfit for use in an organization such as the S. L. P., and the only wonder is that they lasted as long as they did.

As stated, they have recently issued a lampoon with a sort of preamble and in this preamble it was asserted that it was after the special committee had had this document read to it that two members of that committee voted against the National Secretary's demand for the expulsion of Section Bronx. That the National Secretary, in the first

place, had not demanded the expulsion of Section Bronx, but rather suggested a possibility of leaving the final handling of the matter with the Sub-Committee under definite instruction of the N. E. C., does not trouble these unscrupulous liars. Moreover, the reading of that document, far from influencing the committee in their favor, probably had the opposite effect. The reader of the document was interrupted by the chairman of the special committee with the suggestion that he cut the thing short as the committee did not want to sit all night listening to a document which was largely irrelevant, so that this document was not even read in its entirety to the committee for good and sufficient reasons. Yet this organized group of liars had the hardihood to state in one of their lampoons to an N. E. C. member:

Our committee [meaning the reader of the document, Mr. S. Brandon] read a document to the Committee on Section Bronx and it showed such a different aspect of the case as to make Comrade Hanson exclaim in substance, "When I first heard the report of the National Secretary I was ready to vote for expulsion, but after having heard the committee on Section Bronx, I see things differently."

There is no language which can properly characterize such lying and such utter brazenness. As stated, the document read to the committee did not even attempt to deal with the facts given by the National Secretary in his report to the N. E. C. and therefore could not even remotely have had any such effect as attributed to it. Moreover, Comrade Hanson, far from exclaiming in sub-

stance or otherwise what he is supposed to have exclaimed, expressed wonder at the whole performance staged by the disrupters. In a letter written later to the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE Comrade Hanson said, among other things:

Personally, I was very much surprised at the line of defense given by the former members of Section Bronx as they had been charged with obstructive tactics, thereby destroying the Section's usefulness, and upon these charges hardly a word was spoken by these former members, who practically used the whole time in an attempt to prove that the census figures as given in "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" were wrong and misleading. At the full N. E. C. meeting I expressed my surprise at this line of defense upon the charges preferred and made an appeal to forget this matter as the charges were for something else and that it was for them as well as for everyone else to work for the Party and not for their own selfish vanity.

Fortunately, it is the fate of the inveterate liar to get himself so tangled up in his web of lies that he soon stands self-exposed. In the words of De Leon: "Providentially there is a fatality that pursues the liar. Driven by the momentum of mendacity he will lie on. Thus he gets himself all tangled up, and throttles himself."

In addition to being unscrupulous liars these expelled disrupters are as crafty and designing as any body of Jesuits ever were. Any method was acceptable so long as it served the ultimate aim. When, for example, J. Brandon was charged with improper conduct as a Sub-Committee member, and when the Sub-

Committee, upon the basis of the documents submitted by the National Secretary, requested the N. E. C. to have him removed from the Subcommittee, he declared himself willing to vote for his own removal, and to vote in favor of the document submitted by the National Secretary in which he was branded as a liar and falsifier, etc., provided he would be permitted to circularize the members of the N. E. C.—notwithstanding the fact that the N. E. C. would receive all the documents on the basis of which the charges against him were made. The spectacle of an individual being willing to vote in favor of his own removal and in favor of branding himself as a person afflicted with moral turpitude, is sufficient to place such a one outside the pale of civilized and decent people.

Another glaring illustration of the unscrupulousness of these disrupters is found in their attempt to prove De Leon himself wrong (though pretending otherwise) by quotations from De Leon. This is, of course, a favorite trick of the disrupter and confusionist, but it is doubtful if it has been carried to such extremes as in this case: In the "document" in which the disrupters read in part to the special committee of the N.E.C. a year ago, they reproduced a letter from the WEEKLY PEOPLE of August 6, 1906, signed by one Alexander Raiser. Who Mr. Raiser is or was, and what scheme of things he now fits into, is not known. That he did not understand Marxian economics is self-evident. For the argues that the worker is robbed by the "small and big trader," and by the landlord, that is, robbed as a consumer. However, the argument

of Raiser is identical, in all essential respects, to the argument of Spinrad, whom De Leon emphatically refutes. Mr. Raiser, with Mr. Spinrad and the Bronx disrupters, argues (on the basis of the single bakery shop principle) that raw materials must be deducted in order to arrive at a proper figure. Here is the exact language of each of the three contenders for the single bakery shop principle:

Mr. Spinrad: So you see that from the value of manufactured products of \$13,039,219,566 can be reduced \$7,327,907,079 representing the raw material.....

Mr. Raiser: Comparing the sum of value produced, after deducting the cost of materials.....we see, according to these figures, that the wage earners get 40.5 per cent of their total product.

Bronx disrupter: In order to find out what was the value added by the workers in these industries, is it not necessary to deduct the value of the Raw Material, not created by them from the Total Value of Products? If the answer is Yes, and that is the only answer according to Marx.....

Now, since De Leon specifically answered Spinrad's argument on raw materials, and since Mr. Raiser and his latter day Bronx successors are making the identical contentions, it means that De Leon has answered Messrs. Raiser and Co., i.e., the Bronx disrupters. In view of this indisputable fact it requires an extraordinary amount of brass to quote De Leon in support of Raiser. But we know the brass has never been wanting, nor the mental crookedness and moral turpitude accompanying it.

But, it will be argued, is not the

note to Raiser's letter signed "Editor Weekly People"? To be sure it is, but in view of De Leon's answer to Spinrad only a combination of villainy and utter ignorance of S.I.P. history would prompt the conclusion that the note to Raiser's letter was written by De Leon himself. The Raiser note bears no resemblance to anything De Leon ever wrote. On the contrary, it bears striking resemblance to similar notes, similarly signed, concocted by that earlier aspirant for the editorship, Justus Ebert, who at that time was "assistant" editor. Let us get a bird's eye view of this thing:

In July 1905 De Leon delivered his famous address in which he demonstrates that the workers are robbed of all but seventeen per cent of the product of their labor. In November 1905 Mr. Spinrad challenges De Leon's figures and methods. De Leon answers him conclusively. In August 1906 Mr. Raiser criticizes a *Daily People* correspondent and on the central point of the question brings to bear the same argument as Mr. Spinrad. Conceive, if you can, of De Leon refuting with contempt a Spinrad in November 1905, and then in August 1906 heartily endorsing, on the same question, an identical Spinrad! Conceive, further, if you can, De Leon commending highly a letter wherein it is argued that the workers are robbed as consumers! To those of us who understand De Leon, and revere his memory, it is impossible to conceive of him in the role assigned to him by the disrupters. It is the same role which, by implication, they assign to him when they argue that when Spinrad wrote his criticism De Leon was either so ignorant that he could not

see what to them is an obvious error, or, if he did see it, so lacking in honesty as to refuse to acknowledge his error. The attempt to traduce De Leon in so vile a manner is what stamps this gang of disrupters as one of the most contemptible and unscrupulous that the Party has encountered in a long career.

A great deal more could be said about the character of this group, but, as it is, perhaps too much time and space have been wasted upon them. It seems desirable, however, to have these additional facts on record so that if any time in the future these characters should again attempt to fasten themselves upon the Party in any manner or form, they may be recognized for what they are and dealt with accordingly.

A noteworthy feature of the propaganda carried on against the S. L. P. by expelled disrupters during the last year or so is the barrage of lampoons issuing from the camp of these disrupters. Mention has already been made of the lampooning done by the Bronx worthies; but from other quarters have such lampoons been forthcoming. There was a pamphlet by an illiterate simpleton in Los Angeles; a typewritten lampoon from the Brooklyn Scandinavian disrupters; and just as this report is being written two more arrive, one from Denver urging the Party members to petition the politicians in Washington to please allow the Socialists to legislate the Social Revolution into effect; the other from the two disrupters expelled from Section Seattle, Wash., in which some choice bouquets are thrown at the Party. Some of these lampoons are unspeakably vile; others are crude and amusing, and

all of them stupid. An expelled disrupter (especially if his ego is inflated) takes to lampooning as readily as a duck takes to water.

The fact that these disruptive outbreaks in recent years bear so close a resemblance to each other, running almost the same course and terminating almost in the same manner, has prompted some members to ask why this is so. One explanation might be found in what has been called the "law of disruption," which establishes the fact that once an S.L.P. man goes wrong, he goes wrong to an extent that passes all understanding, turning into a bitterer foe and a more intense hater of the S.L.P. than the natural and, one might say, the eternal foes of S.L.P.ism. Another explanation has been suggested,

namely that some outside forces are at work which, whenever a sign of weakness or disturbance manifests itself in an S. L. P. subdivision, immediately get busy working on the malcontents or disruptive elements. Paraphrasing De Leon it might be said that on the same principle that weak lungs are points of gravitation for the tuberculous microbe, such weak or affected subdivisions are the points of gravitation for the tribe of anti-S.L.P.'s. If this theory has anything to it at all, it would not necessarily follow that individuals are planted in S. L. P. groups by the enemies of the Party. There must be means through which the enemies of the S. L. P. can apply and exert an influence on those within our ranks who are either bent on mischief, or who are so confused as not to realize what is at stake, and such an influence might conceivably be brought to bear even without the particular individuals being fully

aware of it. A third explanation might be found in the lack of understanding of organization principles and Party discipline among certain members of the Party. Any one of these would be sufficient to explain these phenomena, and it is possible that all three bear some relation to these never ending troubles and disturbances. In view of the possibilities outlined here it has been suggested that it would be well to deal briefly with the important question of Party organization and Party discipline before this convention. In the following an attempt is made to deal briefly with these important questions.

Organization and Discipline.

Not unnaturally the question is asked occasionally: Why is it that in every disruptive outbreak one or two aggressive mischief makers (usually egomaniacs) succeed in swaying otherwise well-meaning persons who ordinarily would stand staunchly by the organization? It will not do to answer that personal feelings and sentiment are responsible, for that would merely be putting the question another way. Take, for example, three of the leading instances within recent times, viz., Bronx, Scandinavian Brooklyn Branch and Detroit South Slavonian Branch. In each case there were scarcely more than five or six active disrupters bent on mischief, and with a definite objective. The rest were led by degrees into a more and more active support of the disrupters, until they themselves became so entangled in the disruptive web spun by the leaders that they could not extricate themselves, and for very

shame chose to follow the disrupters to the end, or else keep aloof altogether. Yet, the course of many such individuals was originally determined by this or that technical question, and but for a lack of understanding such members would have steered clear of deliberate disruptive action.

The answer to the question posed above is: Failure to understand the fundamental organization principle. It will not seem amiss, then, to examine more closely this question of organization, and all that it implies. What is *organization*? The dictionary definition is simple enough: "The systematic union of individuals in a body whose officers, agents and members work together for a common end." "Systematic union"; "work together"; "common end." These are the points on which hinge the life of any organization. For an illustration let us take the human organism. Here we have "members"; we have "officers"; there is cooperative effort, and there is a common end. To keep to our analogy we say that the brain or nerve center is the "officer," the limbs, etc., the members, and the common end is maintenance of life. If a certain function is to be performed in a healthy body the order goes out from headquarters and is instantly obeyed. There is no question here of the rights of the "individual" member; there is no question of interpreting and acting contrary to the central principle of the organism; there is no waste of valuable time in argument between one "member" and another as to why or when this or that order must be carried out. There is none because the life-principle decrees that there shall be none, and the penalty of dis-

obedience is disintegration, that is death.

Now, every organization must be based upon the identical principle, modified only by the consideration that members of a man-made organization are conscious units, and therefore not inclined to act as mechanical devices, nor should they do so. But the fundamental character of the organism or organization is not altered thereby. To offset, then, the effect of so many conscious units operating at the same time, *majority rule* and *discipline* are instituted.

What does majority rule imply? It implies the submerging of your individual views and your ego for the greater good of the whole, after it has become definitely clear that the one to do the submerging is in the minority. You may feel yourself right a hundred times—no matter, you must submit to the majority. The alternative is disruption, and disruption, if not checked, is the initial stage of disintegration or death. Daniel De Leon's profound observation on the point comes to mind:

"Again, the modern revolutionist knows that in order to accomplish results or promote principle, there must be unity of action. He knows that, if we do not go in a body and hang together, we are bound to hang separate. Hence, you will ever see the revolutionist submit to the will of the majority; you will always see him readiest to obey; he recognizes that obedience is the badge of civilized man. The savage does not know the word. The word 'obedience' does not exist in the vocabulary of any language until its people got beyond the stage of savagery. Hence,

also, you will never find the revolutionist putting himself above the organization. The opposite conduct is an unmistakable earmark of reformers."

"But," some alien spirit will re-monstrate, "submit to the majority? I cannot do that when I think they are in the wrong. I must not submit. I must assert myself." (This, by the way, is no fancied argument, for it was made literally by one of the two leading Bronx disrupters in a letter to Comrade De Lee.) That language is not the language of an individual who intends to fulfil his contract undertaken as a unit of an organization. That language reflects the attitude of the disintegrating, the death-dealing microbe, the foreign element in the organism. It is the anarchist, because it is the anti-organization, spirit. The civilized way is to submit to the majority until such time as the majority is proven wrong. And if the majority is not proven wrong, but, on the contrary, is proven overwhelmingly right, the individual, if he is truly one who aims to serve and not to rule that of which he is but a part, will joyfully recognize that he was in error. And he is still where he belongs, instead of fretting and fuming on the outside.

The question may, however, present itself to the individual: Are the things on which I and the majority disagree of greater importance than the things on which we agree? If the answer is yes, then obviously the parting of the ways has come, but even this parting can be effected in a decent and civilized manner.

We are living in an age of conflicting tendencies. On the one

hand, the driving principle in society is organization. Without organization, no social life, no life at all. Through organization only does life become possible. On the other hand, the "grab-it-all" principle and the "devil-take-the-hindmost" spirit of capitalism, tend to develop the individualist spirit, the pugnaciously individualistic effort. The solvent of that conflict we know is Socialism. But a Socialist organization must raise itself above that conflict, which is to say that each and every member must yield to the organization principle, and submerge the ever unruly and tyrannical ego. Submission to organized principle implies strength. Defiance or disregard of organized principle implies weakness. Organization is the condition *sine qua non* of cooperation. By cooperating, in the language of Marx, individual differences, or "errors" as they are called in mathematics, compensate one another and vanish. And, paraphrasing Marx, when an individual cooperates systematically with others toward a common end, he strips off the fetters of his individuality, and liberates and thereby enhances the capabilities of his species.

Nor are these abstract questions or mere academic ruminations. They are questions obviously vital and of far-reaching effect both in their observance and in their breach. In another profound observation De Leon drives this point home. In the passage quoted De Leon refers to the reformer. If we substitute for that "anarchist" or "egotist" we have a still closer application to modern instances:

"Never forget that every incident

that takes place within your, within our, ranks is noted by a large number of workers on the outside. Tamper with discipline, allow this member to do as he likes, that member to slap the Party constitution in the face, yonder member to fuse with reformers, this other to forget the nature of the class struggle and to act up to his forgetfulness—allow that, keep such 'reformers' in your ranks and you have stabbed your movement at its vitals. With malice toward none, with charity to all, you must enforce discipline if you mean to reorganize to a purpose. We know that in struggles of this kind, personal feelings, unfortunately, play a part; you cannot prevent that; let the other side, the reformer, fill the role of malice that its weak intellect drives it to; do you fill the role of the square-jointed revolutionist—and if there must be amputation, do it nobly, but firmly. Remember the adage that the tender-handed surgeon makes stinging wounds, and lengthens the period of suffering and pain. The surgeon that has a firm hand to push the knife as deep as it ought to go, and pulls it out, and lets the pus flow out, that surgeon makes clean wounds, shortens pain, brings cure quickly about.

"No organization will inspire the outside masses with respect that will not insist upon and enforce discipline within its own ranks. If you will allow your own members to play monkey-shines with the Party, the lookers-on, who belong in this camp, will justly believe that you will at some critical moment allow capitalism to play monkey-shines with you; they will not respect you, and

their accession to your ranks will be delayed."

"If there must be amputation, do it nobly, but firmly." Reflecting on what has taken place in the Bronx, in the Scandinavian Federation, in the South Slavonian Federation, it is quite clear that an amputation was overdue in each instance. But instead of doing it firmly the subdivisions permitted the sore to fester, with the result that when amputation finally became inevitable, the bodies as a whole suffered accordingly. And all because too few members had that thoroughgoing understanding of the organization principle which amounts almost to a sixth sense.

The disrupter, that is the egotist or anarchistically minded individual, is subject to the law of his own being like everything else. That is to say, a disrupter will act almost identically in every place even in circumstances not wholly identical. It is in the nature or essence of things that this should be so. He will insist that he must not submit—that he must assert himself. He will flaunt the majority opinion, and set himself up as the injured party. He will insist on his "rights" while attempting to destroy the very principle that gives meaning to the word "rights." He will lecture others on moral principles, while himself resorting to such immoral practices as double-dealing and trickery, to what in parliamentary law is known as frivolous motions and dilatory tactics, evasion of the essential and the substitution thereof of the non-essential. De Leon has the type catalogued in this passage:

"Another leading mark of the revolutionist, which is paralleled with

the opposite mark on the reformer, is the consistency, hence morality, of the former, and the inconsistency, hence immorality, of the latter. As the revolutionist proceeds upon facts he is truthful and his course is steady; on the other hand, the reformer will ever be found prevaricating and in perpetual contradiction of himself. The reformer, for instance, is ever vaporing against 'tyranny,' and yet watch him; give him rope enough and you will always see him straining to be the top man in the shabang, the man on horseback, the autocrat, whose whim shall be law. The reformer is ever prating about 'morality,' but just give him a chance, and you will catch him every time committing the most immoral acts, as, for instance, sitting in judgment on cases in which he himself is a *particeps criminis*, or countenancing and profiting by such acts. The reformer's mouth is ever full with the words 'individual freedom,' yet in the whole catalogue of deifiers of individual freedom, the reformer vies with the frontmost."

And when finally the disrupter, the egotist, is defeated, or feels his defeat approaching, he will shout "boss" and "rubber-stamp," and solely because *his* will may not prevail against the majority. Whereas the organization man, the revolutionist, will yield his judgment to that of the majority, and in yielding he will not confound organization rule with boss-rule, nor view compliance with organization law as rubber-stamp resiliency. "Hence," says De Leon, "the cry of 'bossism' is as absent from the revolutionist's lips as it is a feature on those of the reformer." And we recall in this connection the most profound of De

Leon's warnings: "Look out for the man who sets up the shout of 'bossism' when countenously defeated in argument. Next to, aye, even more so than material interests, conceit and vanity are the springs of all villainies."

Observance of the organization principle is, therefore, a vital feature of any organization worthy the name. Ignoring the principle of organization breeds anarchy and reduces activities to a minimum, and that minimum even shares the features of Bedlam. Observe the organization principle, and you have a symphony of endeavor. Ignore the organization principle and Party discipline and you have, as Shakespeare puts it:

"A tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and
fury,
Signifying nothing."

Only through the application of strict self-imposed discipline shall we be able to resist onslaughts on the Party. A critic of the S. L. P. has correctly observed: "The parlor radical has no friends in the membership of the S. L. P. He has ignored that body; he has taken up with Anarchism, Bolshevism, Syndicalism, I.W.W.-ism, or whatever other exciting thing has come along. The S. L. P. has had for him no dramatic appeal, no emotional stimulus. It has demanded of its followers discipline—and what free soul could endure the compulsion to believe anything very hard or very long? Coterie radicalism and S.L.P.-ism have nothing in common."

To proceed from the principle to the application a few instances of recent times may be cited.

The Regan-Green trouble in Seatle furnishes one concrete example of how S. L. P. men should not act when they think they have a grievance, and their case may be used to illustrate how they should have acted and what the organization procedure should have been. The first step taken by Regan was the proper one. He had arrived at the conclusion that the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and the Party in a number of instances, had departed from the principles of Industrial Unionism in certain important respects, and in order to attempt a correction he brought the matter before his Section. According to his own letter written to the National Office, he had submitted this criticism to the Section in the form of a written statement addressed to the N.E. C. Sub-Committee. "But," said he, "the Section could not see their way clear for so doing" [i.e., to endorse his letter so that the Section would be back of it]. Now if Regan had thoroughly understood the organization principle, and if he had been more concerned about the organization than about his own ego, he would have let the matter rest, at least until such time as other developments would have justified his bringing it before the Section again. But this he did not do. His next step was a double offense. In the first place, he sent a printed circular to as many subdivisions as he could reach, over the head of his Section and over the head of the National Office, i.e., in private ways and behind the back of the organization, to paraphrase Marx again. The sending out of this lampoon in this manner constituted one offense. At

the same time, however, he sent his statement to the WEEKLY PEOPLE for publication, but he it noted that in his lampoon he stated that he had sent it to the WEEKLY PEOPLE for publication, but in order to make sure that it would come to the knowledge of the members he thought he would take no chance but send it direct to the membership. Now the second and particularly offensive part of this procedure was that he sent it to the subdivisions even before he had sent it to the Editor. For even if he had had the right to send such matters out to the subdivisions he should at least have waited until the Editor had decided whether or not his statement could be printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Once it had been refused publication, and assuming that he then had the right to circulate subdivisions behind the back of the National Organization, it would then have been time enough to address the subdivisions.

When his attention was called to this offense he readily agreed that this procedure was all wrong, but that the circumstances justified his throwing to the four winds Party discipline and every vestige of organization principle. In a letter addressed to him by the National Office, Regan was asked to explain his unusual conduct. He was reminded that the National Office is the central directing office of the Party and that all the matters pertaining to Party affairs not of strictly local concern must be handled through the National Office. He was reminded of the difference between organized Party procedure and individualistic, i.e., anarchistic, procedure. The following is quoted from the letter re-

ferred to above, which was sent by the National Secretary on September 15 to Regan in an effort to get him to understand organization principle:

"You have tried in vain to enlist the support of your Section in your contention. Isn't it just a bit arrogant on your part to presume to address the membership in general in face of your failure to get your own Section's support? Since you do not understand proper Party procedure let me outline it:

"If you believe that you have a serious grievance against the Party or any of its national officers, your first step would be get your Section to back you up. Failure to secure this backing does not prove you wrong, but it does prove that, right or wrong, the Party does not want to be bothered with the matter. But let us suppose you had succeeded in getting your Section's support. It would have been the Section's case (no longer yours) against, let us say, the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Your Section would communicate its grievance to the N. E. C. Subcommittee, which would consider same with its usual thoroughness. If the decision went against the Section the N. E. C. could still be appealed to, and finally the Party's convention. *That is S. L. P. organization procedure.* Your procedure is anti-organization and leads directly to expulsion. Don't you see that by pursuing your present method you are placing yourself in a position where you can no longer appeal? You may be a hundred per cent right in your contention. If you are right why should you want to place yourself in the position of one who

has no faith in constitutional procedure?

"I for one do not want you or any other good S. L. P. man expelled. We can have differences over certain Party matters, and still remain comrades and loyal members of the Party. *But our differences can be discussed and settled only in line with constitutional and parliamentary procedure.*

"I hope you will take steps immediately to reverse yourself in this matter. The N. E. C. Subcommittee will probably submit your action to Section Seattle, and I am satisfied that the Section will agree that Party procedure and not individualistic procedure shall prevail in the Party. A mere acknowledgment of your error would, I think, be all that is needed. I do not mean acknowledgment of error in your Industrial Union contention, but acknowledgment of error in procedure....

"You head the printed lampoon 'One Industrial Center.' That is a good slogan, but for immediate Party purposes I know a still better one: 'One S. L. P. Center.' And that one center is the National Office of the Party."

From the foregoing it will be seen that this individual had been offered the opportunity of reversing himself but failed to avail himself of the opportunity. It should not be overlooked that the National Office did not immediately presume that because a mistake had been made, therefore the individual should be expelled. On the contrary, it was assumed that, serious as the offense was, nevertheless it was done in good faith and therefore subject to stated, Regan and his associate both

insisted on their anti-organization method, even sending their lampoon to non-Party members and groups hostile to the organization. We here have one concrete example of how not to go about a matter of this kind, and also a lesson in organization procedure.

The second recent instance of the same kind is found in the South Slavonian Branch trouble in Detroit. The cause of this trouble has already been dealt with, and here will be mentioned only some of the wrong conceptions held by the members, and consequently the wrong conduct pursued by them. One of the members of the Branch had committed a serious offense against the organization by slandering and misrepresenting the acts of the Federation convention, as well as the acts and motives of certain members at that convention. With apparent vehemence and bitterness he denounced the convention and some of the delegates (even including the fraternal delegate, Comrade Henry Kuhn, whom he referred to as having engaged in "logrolling") with the result that the Branch was stirred up and accepted this man's report as if he had reported mere facts and not merely his conclusions and impressions, which, as stated, he expressed in terms that are not permitted within an organization, not in any body following parliamentary procedure. When the Branch was called upon to discipline this member, the Branch flatly refused to do so. There was lacking in this Branch a clear conception of the organization procedure and of the Party discipline employed. Here, as in other cases, the individual and the egotist was exalted over and above the organi-

zation principle. De Leon's dictum was forgotten: "The principle and the organization are one." To violate the one is to violate the other.

Finally, under pressure from the central office of the Federation, the Branch put the offending member through a trial and, as has been pointed out before, found him not guilty and suspended him for two consecutive business meetings. The absurd procedure of punishing a member (however farcically) when he is found not guilty brings to the fore the confusion that was prevalent in that Branch. If the Branch had been clear as to organization principle and Party discipline it would, in the first place, have recognized that the member had committed an offense against the organization. Having recognized that the Branch would then promptly have put the member on trial and, having found him guilty, it would have imposed a suitable punishment which need not necessarily have been expulsion. When this had been done, the members who had supported the views of the offending member prior to the trial of that member, should have put the matter aside and forgotten about it as if it had never happened except in so far as the incident had furnished an instructive lesson for future occasions.

Once the Branch was expelled each and every member should have asked himself: Are my personal feelings and my concern for this particular individual who has been disciplined and those of his friends who supported him, to determine my Party loyalty? Is their individual welfare of greater importance to me than the welfare of the Branch and the organization as a whole? If each

member had asked himself or herself that question, the answer, from the viewpoint of a well trained S. L. P. man, could only have been that the organization at any and at all times is superior to the individual, and these members would thereupon have taken steps to enroll anew in the re-organized Branch as loyal and disinterested S. L. P. men and women. Failure to grasp the organization principle, and the need of Party discipline, caused many of them to throw their lot with the avowed dissenters in that Branch, and to support them to the injury of the organization which they had professed such loyalty to.

Always remember that the more vicious a disrupter is the louder will he protest his undying loyalty to the S. L. P. The really sincere and loyal S. L. P. man does not go around shouting about his loyalty and sacrifices. He can afford to have his loyalty and devotion taken for granted.

An additional mistake was made in the particular case just dealt with, and this time by the local Section in Detroit. One of those who had been expelled from the Branch, S. Kontin, was asked to speak at an S. L. P. meeting in Detroit. While it was known that Kontin had been expelled, it was presumed that he could be allowed to speak just so that it was made known that he was not a member of the Party. The process of this reasoning is somewhat difficult to follow. The assumption seems to be that an expelled member may be treated as a friend of the organization even though it has been found necessary to place him outside of the organization. It is at all times improper to permit non-

members to speak on Party principles under the auspices of a Party organization, but it is still more improper to permit a disrupter to do so, for here the additional principle of Party discipline enters into consideration. If expelled disrupters are bent on mischief they will naturally seek to pass themselves off as good and loyal S. L. P. members and if the organization helps them to masquerade in this fashion by honoring them as speakers, the organization is being stabbed by the very people who should exert every effort to protect the integrity of the organization. To fraternize with expelled disrupters, to treat them as lost brothers who (though they may have exerted every effort to wreak their vengeance on the Party while members of it) are to be treated as well-meaning and innocent souls, is to lend power and prestige to one of the most pernicious and disintegrating forces in the movement. The next logical step in this direction would be to discuss internal Party affairs with expelled disrupters over whom the Party, of course, no longer has any control, and the final step in that direction is to throw aside all semblance of Party integrity and Party discipline by permitting outside elements, naturally hostile to the movement, either to help shape the course of our movement, or actually to direct it. These steps toward disintegration and dissolution of Party organization are inevitable once the initial step has been taken.

Reverting back for a moment to the principle involved in permitting non-members to speak on Socialism, or on the specific tactical principles of the S. L. P., it should be clear that any such procedure is violently

at war with the organization principle. The S. L. P. permits no one over whom it has no control to expound its principles. When a stranger speaks at a meeting arranged by the S. L. P. it is on a subject either opposed to the Party's principles, or it may be on a subject that has nothing to do with Socialist principles. Imagine the spectacle of a Hillquit lecturing at an S. L. P. meeting on the class struggle. The gentleman might conceivably be able to deliver such a lecture which on the whole might be acceptable. But would we let him? Indeed not. Here it is clearly recognized that to let a Hillquit speak for the S. L. P. on a phase of Socialism is to identify that gentleman with the S. L. P. and to confuse and confound the outsider. But the same principle holds good with an expelled disrupter. Such a one is not in the category of a speaker who may be invited to speak for the Party though his views are diametrically opposed to S. L. P.ism. There are tactical, psychological and, above all, *organization reasons* why no disrupter should be permitted to speak before an S. L. P. audience even though he might be able to expound S. L. P. principles like an angel! The point is of importance. It should not be allowed to escape our members, and a careful and prompt observation of the organization principle in this respect also will save us untold trouble later.

One more concrete example of recent times to show the difference between individual action and organized principle. In the case of Section Bronx we witnessed the spectacle of a series of disruptive outbreaks that sprung directly from

this failure to grasp organization principle. When the resolution proposed by the disrupters was turned down by the Section, and when as a consequence of that the disrupters commenced their disruptive activities covering many months, and when they were upbraided because they had started this disruptive work, they answered coolly that if the Section had only accepted their resolution there would have been only one meeting devoted to this matter. In other words, if the organization had yielded to the individual there would have been no trouble! The fact that in such a case there would have been no organization, apparently did not occur to these anarchistically minded disrupters. This contention that the Section must yield to individual notions, simply in order to avoid trouble in the Section, is the perfect flower of disruptive individualism. Such a contention, whenever and wherever it may be made, alone should render superfluous a lengthy dissertation as to the causes of disruptive outbreaks in particular cases. Such a contention furnishes eloquent proof that the contender of the notion has never understood and never will understand the organization principle and Party discipline, and consequently could never be made to conform to the requirements of that organization principle.

To sum up:

1. Avoid bringing up for criticism in the Section or Branch anything of a frivolous, trivial or personal nature.
2. If a member thinks the Section is committing a serious wrong, let him bring the matter up at a Section meeting and explain wherein he

thinks the Section is wrong—and let him do it in a calm and reasoned manner. If he is a member of Section New York he should not write John Jones in Chicago about it. For John Jones can do nothing about it, and that sort of thing leads to trouble.

3. If members repeatedly bring up trivial matters, or by petty and personal criticism raise obstacles in the way of those who want to work, silence them, or insist on their doing work for which they are suited. If such carping critics are not designing trouble-makers, an effective remedy often is to give them work to do that will absorb those energies which, unused, are spent in silly and frivolous criticism. Of such members it has been well said: "They neither pay their fare nor run the train, yet they will ride to their destination on the train run by others."

4. If a subject is brought up on which there are differences of opinion, discuss them without passion or personal rancor.

5. Be careful not to confuse facts with the conclusions that one as an individual may draw from these facts. There may be general agreement as to the facts, and yet a difference as to conclusions. And in referring to conclusions, parliamentary language must be strictly adhered to if we are to avoid trouble.

6. If trouble nevertheless arises, proceed in strict accordance with the constitution. When a decision has been rendered, yield to the majority except in so far as methods of appeal are provided. After all these have been exhausted let the matter rest. The important thing after all is not the individual, but

the organization and its principles.

7. If an individual is expelled remember that such a one usually becomes a bitter and implacable foe of the Party. He should be treated either as a stranger or as an enemy, depending upon the manner in which he accepts his punishment. If he is really sincere and simply erring, or if the punishment was out of proportion to his offense (as may happen), he can bide his time and in due season apply for reinstatement. And such an individual will not go around denouncing the Party and its officials, but will behave himself so that his reinstatement may become possible.

8. The one infallible sign of treachery on the part of a group of disrupters is their organizing into an opposition group or party, pretending to carry on the work of the Party. Individuals guilty of such practices have ulterior purposes in mind. For since under no circumstances they could be readmitted as a group, it follows that they have organized for a purpose other than to demonstrate their loyalty to the principles of the organization. Individual repentance and individual loyalty and not group "loyalty" are what is required. Such disrupters should be treated as worse enemies than those who are in open opposition to the Party.

9. Internal Party matters should never be discussed with enemies of the Party and least of all with expelled disrupters. To do so is an offense no loyal S. L. P. man will be guilty of. It implies contempt for the Party and is demoralizing in effect, and it will not inspire the outsider with respect for the organization.

10. Above all it should be remembered that it is the Party that must be protected against the disgruntled or disruptive member, and not vice versa.

Beware of the whispering rumor monger. Remember the saying that he who would deceive his fellows must before all things make absurdly plausible. Peddling charges that one has on hearsay is one of the most fruitful sources of trouble. Lincoln warned: "You need not be told that persisting in a charge *which one does not know to be true*, is simply malicious slander." It is well to be tolerant with well-meaning individuals, but no tolerance should be shown the trouble-maker. "Tolerance," said the great Goethe, "ought in reality be a transitory mood. It must lead to recognition. To tolerate is to affront."

There are, of course, the elementary organization principles to be observed: To attend meetings regularly and on time, to pay dues or, if unable, secure exemption stamps, and all the other quite obvious organization responsibilities assumed when a person joins the S. L. P. As to attending meetings on time it has been well said that when a Section agrees on a certain hour at which to meet, each member thereby makes an appointment with the others and it should be held as improper, aye, even more so, to break such an appointment as it would be to break an appointment with someone for a theater party or the like. After all, a strict observance of the elementary organization rules is a prerequisite for observing those of greater import.

The International Movement.

There is as yet no international working class movement based on common principles. In the face of a world capitalism which is becoming more and more homogeneous, and considering the fact that distances between the various countries are vanishing by reason of the wireless and the aeroplane, it might at first blush seem strange that **this** should be so. To the reformist mentality it must seem strange, indeed, for that mentality conceives of the change from capitalism to Socialism as a gradual process, which theory implies the infusing of capitalism *per se* with the "Socialistic spirit." He who understands the nature of capitalism and who realizes what must take its place, and how, has no such illusions. We know that capitalism must, willy-nilly, work toward its own fulfilment, and that only by attaining its own apotheosis does it create the condition for the Socialist Industrial Republic. Hence, capitalism is bound to produce conditions which render life more and more unbearable, with a steady disintegration of all that is peculiar to the system—political democracy, "old-fashioned" bourgeois morality, etc.—and not until these conditions have become so unbearable for the workers as to cause these to break definitely with the spirit and philosophy of capitalism, not until then will they cease to be confused and divided in their efforts. Even the part of the working class that is supposed to have attained a vision of what lies beyond capitalism, is still tied with bonds innumerable to the prevailing order. The two move-

ments which, today, lay claim to represent an international working class philosophy do, as a matter of fact, nothing of the kind. The Third International represents largely the philosophy of the Russian Revolution which, in its present state, has little to do with realities in ultra-capitalist society. The special problems of Soviet Russia render the Russian revolutionists especially unfit to reflect anything like an international working class policy. Hence, wherever attempts are made to imitate or follow the Russian policy, grotesqueness is invariably the result. On the other hand, the Second International (the Social Democrats, or whatever its present reincarnation may be called) derives its philosophy from capitalism—is, in fact, nothing more than a float, an exhibit in the capitalist parade. While the Russian movement speaks in terms mostly Russian, the Social Democrats speak in terms mostly bourgeois. The Social Democrats (or those of them who are really sincere) seek to move the workers to emancipatory efforts within the confines of their own class conditions. If capitalists are successful business men, the workers must prove that they can be as good or better business men. If banking is good for the capitalists, it must be good for the workers also; likewise with insurance, with cooperative apartments, and cooperative this, that and the other thing. The Social Democrats, being bourgeois in everything essential, do not realize that such efforts to the extent they are successful can be so only at the cost of working class emancipation—that all such emancipatory efforts within the narrow bounds of the class condi-

tions of the workers amount in fact to an emphatic endorsement of capitalism—of the capitalist spirit and principle. The presidential candidate of the Social Democrats in this country, the Reverend Norman Thomas, revealed this most pronouncedly when in a radio speech during the National Convention of his party he said that what the Socialists (meaning the Social Democrats) propose today, the old parties carry out tomorrow. Obviously, if what the Social Democrats proposed today had the slightest thing to do with the working class emancipation, the old parties could not, nor would they, even attempt to carry it out, either tomorrow or yet the day after tomorrow.

Likewise with the attitude of the Social Democrats toward the Political State. Not understanding the nature and function of the state they fondly imagine that by capturing political government they have, if not accomplished the revolution, at least taken the first step. And yet all they have done when (like MacDonald in England) they take control of political government (or think they do) is to take direction of a political machinery designed to serve the purposes of the prevailing social order. Their function, as has been pointed out, will be to act as the political arm of the same forces of exploitation which their predecessors in office served, and if they practise sabotage they will wreck the economic structure without having a substitute to offer. But before getting to that point they would, of course, be hurried from power, exactly as happened to MacDonald. And yet that gentleman attempted nothing that could be called revolutionary ex-

cept by the most moss-backed Tory. No wonder, then, that there is nothing resembling a real international working class movement. Such a movement can only be the reflex of ultra-capitalist conditions, and a thorough understanding of the need for an organized working class force so constituted as to be able to take the place of the Political State as a central directing body. And that organized force can be nothing but the Industrial Union. The international working class movement that must soon come will derive its inspiration and basis from Industrial Unionism, and that means that that international movement must, in its essence, be an extension, beyond national boundaries, of the Socialist Labor Party movement of America.

In 1926 we authorized the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Socialist Labor Party and the Third International." This pamphlet dealt exhaustively with the attitude of the Russian movement toward the S.L.P., and its caricature reflection in this country, the so-called Workers (Communist) party, with an exposition of the S. L. P. position both toward the Third International and toward the burlesque crowd masquerading as Communists in this country. The pamphlet was distributed throughout the entire civilized world, somewhat over 600 organizations designated as "Labor," and Socialist, Communist, and labor organs receiving a copy each. No attempt has been made to join issue with the Socialist Labor Party in this connection. The facts and the reasoning presented in the above-mentioned pamphlet were so overwhelmingly and crushingly to the

effect of demonstrating the treachery and clownishness of the Burlesque Bolshevik in this country, and the incongruous and often silly tactics of the Third International in relation to the movement in other countries, that undoubtedly it was thought safest not to tackle the S. L. P. at all. That which cannot be successfully answered is ignored as much as possible, but the "conspiracy of silence" policy practised so extensively by the capitalist press in regard to the labor movement in general, may not be expected to result in greater success when practised by organizations that pose as representatives of labor. However, regardless of immediate reactions to this action of the Party, we know that ultimately all of those who sincerely plan and work for the emancipation of the working class throughout the world will be compelled to answer the Socialist Labor Party of America in one manner or another.

In England and Australia there are S. L. P. organizations, but in both countries the confusion created by capitalism, aided by the Burlesque Bolshevik, Social Democrats and the labor fakers, has been so great as to prevent a growth approaching our movement in America. However, the confusion will be overcome, both here and abroad. The day of De Leonism is fast approaching.

The National Campaign.

The pre-campaign activities of the Party have long been in full swing. The N. E. C. Sub-Committee has issued a call for a \$50,000 Campaign Fund and specifically for a day's wage contribution from every member and sympathizer. Campaign

Fund lists have been issued, likewise 5c. and 25c. stamps, and \$1 certificates. Efforts will, of course, be made to get on the ballot in as many states as possible, and as many organizers as funds permit will be placed in the field. Tentative steps have been taken to secure the services of Comrades Quinn, Johns and Reynolds, all of whom have declared themselves ready to serve, if necessary and if called upon. There are wonderful opportunities presented to us this campaign. May we make the fullest use of them.

Conclusion.

Tossed on the turbulent social sea, lashed by every storm that sweeps that sea, our staunch craft, the S. L. P., has ridden the waves and weathered the storms, though here and there a sail is torn. But, as De Leon said, the S. L. P. moves by chart; and because we move by chart; and because we know the why and the wherefore of every sudden wave and every howling storm, we are ever ready to meet the onslaughts, while keeping straight to our course. As an enemy critic once said, partly in derision, partly in reluctant tribute:

"None of these anticipatory lists furnishes so fascinating a field for speculation as that of the Socialist Labor Party. For here is the oldest existing Socialist political organization in America, with a homogeneous membership.... The S. L. P. is the rock of revolution; and here, when all other refuge fails, the bewildered and beaten hosts of labor will rally for the grand counter-attack which will gain the final victory. And why not? Granted the revolution, why

may not this group, rather than another, seize the supreme power? True, it is insignificant in numbers, and by its iron rigor it has driven thousands from its fold and made of them lasting enemies. But what has been in other days its notorious defeat might conceivably, in the days of the great upheaval, prove its crowning virtue and advantage. Surely if on that day, the upheaving mass searches among all the contending groups for unwavering singleness of aim and fanatical certitude of method, then here will be the body around which to rally. Perhaps the mass will do just that thing.

Perhaps the S. L. P. will attain supreme power." Only, there is no perhaps about it. Or rather, whatever may befall, the principles of the S. L. P. alone will and can lead the proletariat to victory.

Meanwhile, our watchword must remain the Columbian—"Sail on, sail on, there lies land to the West."

Fraternally submitted,
National Executive Committee
of the

Socialist Labor Party,
Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary.
New York City, May 5, 1928.

THE REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF THE WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Again four more years have passed since we last met—four years in which we can scarcely more than report progress, that is, say that we are holding on and continuing our work, without either an interruption or any remarkable improvement. Nevertheless, since the officers of the Party, and perhaps the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE in particular, occupy a strategic position on the watch-tower of the revolutionary movement in this country, it is possible to note, even in the present apparent dead calm, currents, counter-currents, and bubbles that unquestionably indicate disturbances and activities. Upon these I will touch, but since they are mere indications I can only point to what I feel and

how they affect my work, hoping thereby to point out such dangers as I may perceive or on the other hand perhaps to inspire you with such enthusiasm as I may feel, and of course incidentally to make clear the difficulties against which we struggle for the moment and the hopes that we ought to build for the future.

EIGHT YEARS OF POST-WAR CAPITALISM.

It is now eight years since we met in the first post-war convention. At that time war-made revolutionary currents were still sweeping Europe and there were still serious doubts whether the capitalist system was going to be able to recuperate and once more recover its breath after

its all-around breakdown followed by nervous hysteria. Fear was sitting at the heart of the upholders of the system. But the war in Europe outside of Russia had quite evidently and quite naturally sapped the vitality of the working classes. The revolutionary currents ran into the ground and were lost through sheer desire for peace and silence at any price.

In this country the workers had barely been touched by the tragedy of the war. The broken homes were scattered over three million square miles of territory. But what this country had felt from those early war days of 1914 till long after the Armistice in 1918 was a maddening, blood-stirring "war prosperity" — all the workers working, with lots of spending money, even if it did not go very far on account of the constant increase in the cost of living, and on the top a perfect orgy of profiteering with resulting extravagance and breakdown of social bonds. The revolutionary currents which stirred Europe therefore naturally did not reach this country. There stirred here on the contrary a tremendous though highly artificial patriotism, inspired and cultivated on the one side by the profiteers and war maniacs, on the other by sheer fear of revolution, fear of the loss of the war fleshpots—for though revolution was not at all imminent its breezes stirred the air. Intimidation with all its concomitant brutality stalked the land.

well laid plans of combined politicians, financiers and industrialists, European capitalism—outside of Russia—was doctored up and put on its feet. All prospects of immediate revolution vanished—except perhaps from the heated brains of the American burlesque bolsheviks. International capitalism was once more a going concern.

Since this artificial revival of capitalism, eight years have become history. It does not take an especially keen observer to see that during this period the decay that has been going on is simply tremendous. What we see would be appalling, if it were not for the fact that we—the Revolutionists—know that this decay is inevitable; that it must precede that final breakdown of the system, and hence the Revolution.

In the WEEKLY PEOPLE we make an attempt at recording at least the principal indications of this decay. But that is also all that we can do with our limited space, facilities and personnel. Never before have I felt so cramped for space, not even during the heated war days and their revolutionary and reactionary aftermath; never before so much need of a larger staff, special workers and a few skilled reporters. It is simply impossible even to attempt to follow important events, even in New York. Hundreds of important matters go unrecorded, or only digested from inadequate reports in the daily papers, because we cannot secure first hand information. It is not even possible to digest half of the matters that come to the desk in the form of clippings. Personally it always amuses me pitifully when I see anyone get a swelled head from being complimented for having written

a "good" article. Nothing has ever made me feel more humble than the ever more frequent boosts that come in about the WEEKLY PEOPLE and its value to the readers—because no one knows as well as I how much better it ought to be—in fact how truly inadequate that little six-page paper is in recording the present decay and in being able to handle all the agitational and educational material that comes to hand and which is so necessary for the education of the working class.

I believe that there are few people even today who realize the amount of dry-rot in the capitalist system. I never neglect all possible opportunity to show the decadence of the Political State, and from the evidence brought in our readers certainly should not fail to see that it is rotten ripe for overthrow. But I am almost safe in stating that what we have recorded is not one hundredth part of what we could record if we had the facilities. I receive clippings every week not only from cities but from towns and hamlets, which go to show that there isn't the smallest lath or nail in the whole political structure in this country that isn't rotten or rusty. All we can do of course under the circumstances is to summarize, trusting to our readers to be able to gather, each in his place, corroborating evidence. Lenin in his "Left Wing" Communism" says:

The fundamental law of revolution confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century, is as follows: It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand

changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses *do not want* the old regime, and when the rulers *are unable* to govern as of old, then only can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for the revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; second, that the ruling class be in a state of governmental crisis which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid tenfold, or even hundredfold, increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries.

These signs of an approaching breakdown are unmistakable in the system today. The great pity as far as the S. L. P. is concerned is that our poverty prevents us from gradual expansion to meet the demands that are bound to be put upon us.

THE WORKERS.

There is no need of talking generalities to this audience. You understand all too well the general situation. You know all about the present unemployment and what it forebodes—if not another great war it surely means that machine production in this country alone has made

superfluous permanently five million and plus workers with the plus growing year by year. How long at this rate capitalism is going to be able to stave off financial and industrial panic is the stars.

But we, as the genuine revolutionary movement of this country, have business at this moment and at this convention when we are here assembled to look this situation squarely in the face, to take it home with us and discuss it in our Sections with our comrades.

How is the threatening situation going to affect us? The workers are going to be willing to listen to us, that is certain. Already last campaign our speakers recorded a willingness to listen to the message of the S. L. P. such as they had never experienced before. Moreover, they found a capability for understanding our special message that was entirely new—highly encouraging. I am a poor prophet if that readiness to listen and that capability of understanding is not going to be found many times multiplied in the campaign that lies before us. That of course is what we want, what we have been waiting for all these years; it is good; it is encouraging.

But while contemplating this with pleasure and hope do not let us neglect to recall the every new demand and acceptance of S. L. P. propaganda will put new strain on our small facilities—which are already overstrained. How are we going to be able to meet demand for expansion if that demand should suddenly come—as some day it suddenly must? In fact, all signs indicate that this campaign itself is going to put tremendous demands upon us. For the WEEKLY PEOPLE alone I am

wondering how they are to be met. The unemployment situation is a double-edged sword. It makes thousands upon thousands of workers hungry for revolutionary education and information—and it makes these thousands unable at the same time to carry their share of the burden of it.

The revolutionary movement is no midsummer day's picnic. Our troubles will multiply as the final day approaches. Some of these troubles are here, demanding attention right now.

IN THE PEOPLE OFFICE.

At a moment when we feel this rush in the air and tremendous underecurrents below, it is truly alarming to feel the inadequacy of our facilities to handle the approaching situation. But when we add to this that we have to face an undue amount of sluggishness and lack of rising to the auspicious occasion by our own membership, then the situation becomes sometimes rather desperate—that is if a true revolutionist were made of stuff that could ever despair.

I take for granted that you who are here at least have been watching during the last four years more or less eagerly the sub-getting columns of the PEOPLE. Sometimes they are enough to drive one frantic. It isn't so much that they do not increase. We are used to that. But it is that *they do not increase at a time like the present*. I know, I KNOW, by the repercussions that we get, that the workers will read the WEEKLY PEOPLE now; that they are commencing to comprehend our position; that all some need is to get hold of the WEEKLY PEOPLE

to devour it eagerly. In other words, the moment has arrived to double, triple and quadruple our subscription list and to make the readers stick. And at such a moment our membership is almost totally lying down on a job as important as that—the most important job that we have before us. We do our best to educate the PEOPLE readable and educational. I like to be told by Tom, Dick and Harry that they like the PEOPLE better than any other paper under the sun—that is human nature, that is what as Editor of your paper I am constantly striving for, and I am sure that nothing less would or should satisfy the Party—but personally I would rather see one new reader than a whole page of fair words that butter no parsnips. New readers, scads of them, that is what we want. Please take that home and tell it to your constituents. And tell them that they can get them.

Sometimes we can stir up an artificial activity for a few weeks by constant hammering at the members. But nothing is more discouraging. One gets utterly exhausted saying over and over again what everybody should know himself. The same thing is true of the funds necessary to support the Party organ. Everyone knows that a paper that runs neither ads nor paid graft stories never was and never will be self-supporting. Moreover, our readers "hate" to see a "constant cry" for support in the columns. Nevertheless, the minute almost that we let down on these "cries" the support falls off. And you readers only have to SEE it. How do you think we, your officers, feel who have to DO it? The National Secretary will

take a hand in it till he is dried up and exhausted; then your Editor will take a turn; then we will shunt it back and forth from one office to the other till we both lie down on the job from sheer inability to say another word—until a situation faces us that we must up and at it again or contemplate disaster.

It is this constant tugging where we should have but to follow that makes the work difficult. And worst of all, it uses up energy that is much needed in the ever increasing demands of the agitational work itself.

SIGNS OF AWAKENING.

There are, however, several distinct signs of awakening and alertness in the Party and among our readers that are decidedly gratifying.

Early in 1918 at the close of Scidell's time on the PEOPLE I made a tour for the Party in the Middle West. One thing to me was utterly

shocking: our people were not posted. They did not know what was going on in the Party; they paid no attention to the general articles and editorials, and what was still worse, they not only neglected the PEOPLE but they read nothing, i.e., at least in the line of Socialist and related literature. I was absolutely appalled at this situation. I wondered if after all our enemies were right: was the Party dead?

I remembered when I first came into contact with the Party, the eagerness I found on all sides. How we used to vie with one another to get hold of new books, read them and talk about them! Surely not one of the published classics of Socialist literature escaped us. Did we in 1918 live in a new age when people

had forgotten to read? Or was it simply that, the inspiration that we used to imbibe in the early days from our press being no longer there, all interest in sociological subjects even among the select in the Party was dying out? When I got on the PEOPLE I said to myself, if there is any possibility to do it, the reading habit is going to be reawakened. I felt that if that could be accomplished the Party would inevitably be reawakened and revive; if it could not be done then—well, then it is hard to tell what. I set to work deliberately on this. I reviewed the Party literature and the old classics, and interesting and profitable new books which after the war commenced to multiply in various fields. I drafted help from any source where it could be gotten. We kept up a persistent campaign of advertising. We have had literary issues and special issues in commemoration of such men as Morgan, Engels, Lassalle, Lincoln, Darwin and great literary men such as Brandes, Shelley, Ibsen—I am sure everybody enjoyed and profited by the excellent essay on Ibsen written by Comrade Petersen on Ibsen's hundredth anniversary which is fresh in mind. I have heard innumerable echoes from this part of the work, and I know that our people now read, and it is particularly gratifying to meet young people who are eagerly taking up the hints thrown out in this line by the PEOPLE.

As to the PEOPLE itself, I have tried in every way to vary the contents not only in a given issue but from time to time so as to keep interest and eagerness alive. Comrade Kuhn and others have been of great help in this respect and we have this tremendous gratification—the PEOPLE is being read today (I feel I can say that without hesitation) I believe as eagerly as it was in De Leon's time, whose spirit we are trying to keep alive in it. We can tell by innumerable signs and responses. I can tell by articles and letters and reports of speeches. The PEOPLE is again the source book of our agitators as it should be, as it always was in the old days, and as it must be, or be counted a failure. And if you have watched the PEOPLE carefully you have seen something else that is highly encouraging. We are getting new writers; we are getting a number of new young writers too, some of whom show signs of both thoroughness and ability. Ten years ago when I came on the PEOPLE it was like pulling teeth to get an article except from a few old-timers that I could have counted on the fingers of one hand, and I think have a finger or two to spare. In the last year or so well-written articles have commenced to drop in from the clear sky—as it were. Even our correspondence column is better than before—and we do not get one-tenth the number of impossible manuscripts. Sometimes I may have appeared rather harsh in slamming contributors and manuscripts in the Letter Box. I meant to be, not only for the benefit of the particular writers who usually were hopeless anyhow but as a warning to aspirants. I wish I could show the frightful stuff that used to come in—written on odd sheets of paper, sometimes several colors, often on both sides, with pencil, even indelible pencil that would glitter in the light and smear at a touch of dampness, no margins, lines

crowded on top of each other—and generally impossible. And if they were not published the writers would usually scream, demand to know why, and even demand a "criticism," as if we were here to teach composition or had nothing else to do but rewrite bad writing when it was much easier to write well in the first place and when we always had more material than we could handle. I remembered how De Leon used to slam these notions and the ridiculous one that 50 cents membership dues entitles anyone to the inalienable right to fill up the columns of the PEOPLE. So I revived some of De Leon's best slams, and perhaps invented some new ones, and they have brought results. Some few have gotten "insulted" no doubt, but they were hopeless freaks anyhow, and strict as the Party is you know that we will get them. I remember one in particular who told me I was a bourgeois snob because I refused a manuscript written in pencil, with the lines crowded together—that was of no particular and special interest anyhow. The "contributor" has never been heard from since, and small was the loss as compared with the greater recompense—that we have no longer a famine in people who can write and realize the necessity of complying with a few rules.

Let me hasten to say here, however, before you form a wrong impression, that it does not take literary genius or a college education to write an article for the PEOPLE. Some of our best writers have got the better part of their education in a shop. But it requires some sort of ability to tell a plain straight story, and a plain straight story told

by a worker from the field he is familiar with is mightily interesting and often exceedingly valuable. Such writers of course we do all to encourage and help out when help is needed. The correspondence columns are always open to them—and I for one like this department immensely, and even if the language is not always perfect it matters less than that it should be, as it usually is when no pretense at literariness is made, vivid and expressive.

I believe, as someone remarked to me the other day, that the Party now stands ready and shows signs of attracting material of a higher order, young workers, men and women, with ability and a fair education. I am badly mistaken if all the signs which point to this should fail. In the old days, aside from the very, very few who were clear and sound and have remained throughout the Party's bodyguard, the old stalwarts, the movement attracted mainly freaks and slummers. That was because conditions in America were not yet ripe for the movement to spring from the loins of the real broad industrial working class. As a result, for some twenty years or more we were actually on the defensive against a membership. De Leon was accused of keeping members away and of throwing out more than were admitted. That is almost literally the truth, and what is more it was a necessity. If that had not been done, we would be the Socialist party today or the Workers party. All we could do then was to guard the principle and do our best to make it known. We have not only lost nothing by being unattractive to freaks and slummers, and harsh on them when they came our way—we

have gained something that is highly worth having, that is in fact indispensable to the sound revolutionary movement—namely, the respect of the genuine working class.

I feel, therefore, that at this time I can say with utmost confidence that the Party today does not face the general intellectual bankruptcy that it was threatened with some ten years back. There is an intellectual awakening and a development of new material in our ranks that is going to give a splendid account of itself in the next few years—of that I am certain. New and able writers have commenced to turn up, good speakers are going to come. It is the inevitable result of persistent education.

Let's not fear to be harsh when harshness is necessary. But let's educate—educate—educate—and the necessity for harshness will fall away of itself.

THE BRONX DISTURBANCE.

As a whole the four years have been rather peaceful—if we except the disturbance which emanated from the Bronx and had its repercussion in the editorial office—because the Bronx disturbers had "a natural born and logical editor of the PEOPLE" of their own.

A year ago I was forced to bring this matter to a head and lay the whole ugly sore bare before the N. E. C.—that is, as it had affected the Editor and the PEOPLE. You have all read the report. The stand the N. E. C. took finished the disturbers—if the Editor needed a vindication that was more than a vindication. There is nothing more to say about it on my part—directly at least. But I am going to make a few gen-

eral comments arising from this.

The Brandon crowd have pleaded all around for sympathy because they were young and energetic and were doing things to which the "old fogies" (Petersen, Zimmermann, Orange, Smiley, Thal, myself, etc.) objected. And they have gotten sympathy exactly on this plea. It is so easy to fall for that sort of rot. I have heard more than one "old fogey" remark that they had been willing to put up with a lot of Brandon's foolishness because, he was young and energetic and pushing and they always hoped he would learn and become sensible in time and the Party is so anxious for "young blood." I admit that I fell for it so far myself that I labored over Brandon's articles, even had him in the office talking to him, pointing out their faults, making notes for him to rewrite by—and only to find that when his articles got into print so far from feeling humble—or at least thankful for hints—he was swelled up with conceit over such masterpieces and came forward himself with requests—even demands—that they be published as pamphlets, and of course all his own.

Now I want to say and say emphatically while this splendid text for the sermon is at hand—that this sort of catering to and petting of young hopefuls is the worst kind of foolishness. There is room in the Party for all sorts of energy, all sorts of ability; but when a young whippersnapper springs up and demands to be looked upon as a genius, it is time to sit on him. The very worst thing to do at any rate is to pet his faults and boost him up higher than he can fly. It will only enhance his conceit and make useless

the qualities that might otherwise be useful.

Youth will come to us. It is bound to be attracted by the logic and clarity of our reasoning. Talent will come, even genius. And no one I am sure will be more ready to welcome these than those who have given a long life's service in the cause. But talent is always modest; genius is usually shy. Conceit is the mark of mediocrity; the reason for blowing one's own horn is always that no one else finds it worth while to blow it. People who have genuine ability will welcome criticism and will be only too happy to learn from those who have worked hard in the school of experience. If anyone starts talking about "old fogies" suppressing his talent and failing to appreciate his genius—put him down in your notes as a conceited pup with an empty skull, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred *at least* you will find out you were right.

Men and women, boys and girls of sense will come into the Party and take their places in the ranks—and if they have special talent the ranks will open for them. I have generally in my experience in the Party—and it is a long and varied one—found that the ranks were much more apt to open too soon than to try to close tight on possible ability.

The Brandon experience has been a nasty one. Even after the Party ejected this crowd they have tried to impose on the membership by pleas of "energetic youth" that could not be suppressed or discouraged or put down by those who denied them the places and honors they were entitled to. The Party boasts of its discipline; as a whole it has a right

to be proud of it. But in the case of these Bronx whippersnappers—and eventual disrupters—sentiment appears to have run away with some of the best of us.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Some time last year we faced a little "rebellion" that, however, amounted to nothing more than a tempest in a teapot.

During the year I wrote a series of articles on *unionism*, beginning with the K. of L., the A. F. of L., the S. T. and L. A.; the I. W. W.; and finally some time in the spring reached the point where I went into rather detailed analysis of the Socialist Industrial Union. It was then that the Regan-Green (Skykomish, Wash.) controversy arose. Curiously enough, it did not start as a result of a certain WEEKLY PEOPLE editorial. It was already going—absolutely unknown to me—when the editorial or editorials that were later attacked were written. Comrade Johns of Portland, Ore., had made a speech in Seattle (I think). Present were Regan and Green, members of that Section. They objected to Comrade Johns's analysis of Industrial Unionism as to shop and trade branches. A heated discussion seems to have followed after the meeting, and after that a discussion by correspondence sprang up between Johns and Skykomish, in which Regan and Green accused Johns of misrepresenting the Party. Just then I had reached this subject in the PEOPLE and Johns naturally quoted the PEOPLE as authority among other things. And as naturally Regan and Green retorted that the Editor of the PEOPLE either knew nothing about the

subject or misrepresented too. Johns thereupon demanded that if he misrepresented the Party's stand charges be brought against him; things were getting pretty heated in that neck of the woods, and then Johns sent the entire correspondence to the National Office. As I was in a measure involved, Comrade Petersen promptly furnished me with copies of the correspondence. That was my first indication of trouble, though I had had a question from Regan previously. I thought I might perhaps stop the row by putting the Party's position plainly, or at least I wanted Comrade Johns—who seemed rather unduly irritated—to know that he had company in the Editor of the PEOPLE if he was to be tried and found wanting for "misrepresenting the Party's position." So on July 14 I wrote a letter to the National Secretary discussing the Industrial Union branch as I see it in detail—enclosing copies and requesting that these be sent to Johns, Regan and Green and Section Seattle. (The essential parts of this letter were later published in the form of an editorial, WEEKLY PEOPLE of October 1, 1927, "The Industrial Union Branch.")

The letter, so far from cooling matters off, brought them to a head. Regan started to lampoon the Party—over the head of the National Office, even in one case demanding this lampoon be published in the PEOPLE, at the same time telling me it had already been sent out to the membership independently. You know the result. Regan and later Green were expelled from Section Seattle. I have nothing to do with that, nor do I intend to go into the merits of the question of the In-

dustrial Union branch. No other voice than those of these two Skykomishites, who apparently had gone to seed in a western lumber camp, has ever been raised against any of the editorials on Industrial Unionism—so I have a right to conclude that they expressed the Party's position satisfactorily.

But I have brought up this whole matter just to have a chance to say something on one point that came up in this connection and that I have heard other echoes on.

In one of Regan's lampoons this sentence occurs:

Shop branches would be impossible to organize in time of revolutionary crisis due to the fact that the workers would be *on the street and not in the shop.* (Emphasis mine.)

In answer to this I wrote the following editorial entitled, "The Cat Out of the Bag" in the issue of October 15:

"In the two previous editorials on Industrial Unionism we have had to deal with only the confusion of mind of our critic. Now we have reached something entirely different and perhaps even more serious. The chart we received, besides what has been already reported, also bears this inscription:

"Shop branches would be impossible to organize in time of revolutionary crisis due to the fact that the workers would be on the street and not in the shop.

"Must we conclude then that our critic opposes shop and trade branches and advocates trade branches only, or rather 'craft branches,' not because this is necessarily good Industrial Unionism but for a reason that he has all the time

held up his sleeve? And this he does daring to invoke De Leon as his authority. Is this intended to imply that De Leon also had reasons up his sleeve, that while De Leon thundered for Industrial Unionism and insisted first, last and at all times that the Industrial Union was the workers' MIGHT and that without it the revolution would be either a fiasco or one of long drawn out suffering to the workers, what he really believed would take place was that the workers neither would nor could be organized and that the real revolution would be what the communists term 'mass action,' an unorganized mob 'in the street'? It is needless to say that the Socialist Labor Party and the WEEKLY PEOPLE absolutely resent such an implication being put to De Leon. De Leon had indestructible faith in the workers; his whole life and activity prove this.

"On the other hand, what the above quotation proves is that the author of it has absolutely no faith in the working class—and, moreover, that he has no faith in the Socialist Labor Party since it is one of the important and cardinal principles of the Socialist Labor Party that the workers CAN and MUST be organized industrially. We know the critic to be a workingman. Had he been a middle class or professional intellectual there might have been an excuse. An intellectual unless he be a genius or a real thinker, i.e., an intellect rather than an intellectual, is without exception a snob. He conceives the workers as beneath him in all respects. If the worker is ever to get up the intellectual must lift the poor creature to his feet. If there is to be a revolution the intel-

lectual must make it somewhere on a high and safely secluded throne, while the workers furnish the cannon fodder 'in the street.' Such a thing as the workers ever organizing themselves into a power to effect their own revolution is naturally unthinkable to the intellectual.

"But for a worker to play snob to the working class is an unpardonable sin, like the sin against the Holy Ghost in the Scripture. De Leon believed and believed without reserve that the workers were capable of organization and that they would eventually *organize themselves*. It was that faith based upon scientific analysis that brought him to and kept him in the revolutionary movement through all the years of desperate struggle with freaks, the A. F. of L. fakers, S.P.'ites, the I.W.W. and what not, the leaders of all of which had or have no faith whatsoever in the workers whom they actually corrupt intellectually while they fatten or climb to power or prominence on a corrupted so-called labor movement and a flabby, degraded working class, which it is necessary for this kind of 'leader' should remain flabby and degraded. It is this faith inspired by De Leon and correct scientific, historic and social-economic analysis that have made and kept alive the S. L. P. throughout all these years of struggle, and it is this faith — no, this knowledge — which is the basis for the real and true distinction between the S. L. P. and the whole wobbly and silly lot of so-called 'revolutionary' parties and organizations that spring up like mushrooms from time to time only to wither and die.

"A revolutionist who is a real revolutionist wastes no time worrying

about what CANNOT be done. In the bright lexicon of a revolutionist there is emphatically no such word as 'can't.' And above all he certainly does not build the tactics and organization principles on a miserable *can't*! The task of the revolutionist is to chart the correct road and then to follow it no matter where and to what ultimate events it leads.

"Industrial Unionism IS the correct mode of organization; De Leon has blazed that trail. He has shown us that the unit of Industrial Union organization must be the OUTPOST; he has shown that these unions in order to present order in industry must be subdivided in SHOP AND TRADE branches, not shop OR trade branches, not one or the other, but both. It is for the Industrial Union agitator to follow that road, and leave the rest to the working class in the hour of its awakening. "It is the height of indecency to preach and teach working class organization and then not even have the faith that the workers are capable of taking even the first step toward it."

About this time an old and very true and loyal comrade wrote a letter to Comrade Petersen which contained these paragraphs:

As I understand, you, Mrs. Johnson and the S. L. P. believe that the working class can be organized industrially under capitalism. That is your prophecy.

I believe that it is utterly impossible to so organize the working class. That is my prophecy. I do not claim to KNOW. Only the future will determine who is correct.

In the meantime, I work in season and out of season for the INDUS-

TRIAL organization of our class, and I mean industrial organization in its widest sense.

You say that the capitalists are not almighty. I admit as much, but I assert that the working class is not omnipotent. Between the two a struggle will proceed until the capitalist class is exhausted, its resources wasted. Then the INDUSTRIAL UNION will spring into existence over night. Just a prophecy, you say. I admit as much, but I feel quite sure that I have ample ground for such prophecy. Between now and then we shall struggle to establish Industrial Unionism. Can we do more? If we get it sooner than I anticipate, I shall rejoice with all others.

There is of course nothing wrong in *thinking* just this way, when a man ACTS as loyally and works as seriously and enthusiastically as this comrade does.

It is this thinking I want to emphasize once more and if possible correct any such notions as here expressed. The ability of the working class to organize industrially is *not* prophecy. It is a scientific fact made possible by *at least* American conditions and the organization of modern industry. We KNOW it to be a fact.

Only visionaries will base actions and movements on *prophecy*. The S. L. P. is no visionary. It is an instrument, a tool, so to speak, but a scientifically made tool, developed by Socialist science for the purpose of Social Revolution and Reconstruction. As such the S. L. P. has no right to deal with *guesses* nor with *prophecy*. It is its business to KNOW. And the S. L. P. knows that the workers *can* be organized into Industrial Unions, and it knows too that these unions are absolutely in-

dispensable to the Revolution and Reconstruction, if a period of chaos and horror and reaction and possible retrogression is to be avoided. The lines quoted above say: "Between the two [the capitalist class and the working class] a struggle will proceed until the capitalist class is exhausted, its resources wasted." I am almost astounded to find that there is still anywhere an S. L. P. man, and a good one, who in his secret soul can think anything as utopian as that. The capitalist system will decay, the capitalist class will grow ever more corrupt, individuals may and will collapse in the struggle to keep their heads above water in the capitalist maelstrom, but the class will ever strengthen and entrench its power and its resources; so far from washing away it will increase, multiply and concentrate its resources at points where they are easily drafted and set in motion. In other words, we are lost if we depend on meeting a weakened and exhausted and resourceless foe, for we will be sure to meet a raging beast, glutted with nourishment and with powerful weapons and unlimited resources at his disposal. And that is exactly why the S. L. P. emphasizes in season and out of season that such foe cannot be met and subdued by a mob of workers running wildly in the street, A not knowing what B, C and D are up to and all exposing themselves to the organized war fury of the foe. That is why we emphasize in season and out of season that the workers *must* organize in the shops, where they are entrenched from the foe, where they will have easy communication through organization channels, where they can strike the plutocratic beast and its force ma-

chine directly in the bread basket with a still more powerful force, the organized productive capacity of the nation.

Upon this firm conviction and knowing the S. L. P. has built for more than a quarter of a century. Let me emphasize as I did in the editorial just read, that the Party's very fundamental principles and tactics have grown out of and are based upon this conviction and this understanding.

Regan says the workers can't be organized in Industrial Unions in the shops, for they would not be in the shops at the time of the Revolution. They would be on the streets. The S. L. P. answers that in *principle* this fellow is a Workers partyite and not an S. L. P. man no matter how much he professes Industrial Unionism. The S. L. P. principle and tactics have not grown out of the conviction that it *can't*, but that the workers *can* and *must* organize. And no more than it is possible to build on a *can't* is it possible to build on a *prophecy*. The S. L. P. must know. The S. L. P. must know that the workers *can* organize industrially before the Revolution and it firmly believes that they *will*. Of course it is quite certain that when it happens the Revolution will be crowding in upon us, for this reason: The capitalist system today is rotten ripe to fall; the moment the workers are classconsciously and industrially organized in sufficiently large numbers nothing in the world will hold them back—the Revolution will be upon us.

Our task is tremendous. The necessity for education on industrial lines and the amount to be done in the coming years heavy with portent

is almost appalling and overwhelming; but this task must be met and can be met only by the firm conviction, the absolute *know* on our part, that our principles and tactics evolve from an absolutely scientific basis—that the workers will and must respond, that they can and must be organized industrially. Anything else would make us either fools, fanatics or hypocrites—all of which the S. L. P. is certainly free from—and we can say without hesitation or fear of contradiction that no other so-called radical or reformistic or socialist organization in our entire society is free from the charge of being tainted with one or the other of these. If the two curious Sky-komishies have served to bring out these points and caused us to reaffirm our conviction, we may bid them Godspeed. Even they have not been a total loss.

THE LAMPOON BARRAGE.

Speaking of the Skykomish lampons brings this subject to mind. There appears lately to have been a steady barrage of lampooning against the S. L. P. The Skykomish pea shooting continues. At the last meeting of my Section there was at hand a high stack of letters from that source containing the latest muddle, addressed in the Section's care to every member and reader of the PEOPLE in Brooklyn or environs whose name for any reason whatsoever has ever appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. We presume that the same must have happened in every other Section. The work has been systematically done and has certainly required time and patience. And then there is the money for printing and stamps which runs

into sums, if one thinks of it as backed by a couple of lumber workers.

Then there is the Bronx lampooning which has continued steadily since the disrupters were eliminated from the Party. The N. E. C. has been continuously lampooned and lately prospective delegates to the convention as well. There is one thing in one of their documents, the one they tried to present before the last N. E. C., namely, the reference to the Alexander Raiser letter, which is food for thought. This appeared in the *Daily People* on August 16, 1906, long before the time when any of these Bronxites knew anything about the Party. How did they know where to find an utterly forgotten document? They surely did not go through all the files. It looks suspiciously as though there might be connection with former disrupters or eliminated editorial geniuses.

During the winter the Party was lampooned by a crazy, carping criticism by one Clausen of somewhere in California, a former member of Section Spokane, Wash. This was almost a book, the preparation, printing, binding, mailing of which must have run into large sums. Again we ask, who? what? where? fore?

Just before the convention another lampoon came from Denver, proposing "revolution" by constitutional amendment. With this too we find the Sections and members are being bombarded and will be monthly, so it is announced. Again! What is the interest back of it? Who foots the bill?

These are only a few of recent date. And they seem to be increas-

ing in number and volume and middle-headedness. Perhaps it is not amiss to take a moment to think of them. Can there be a sinister motive back of all this? It is not altogether impossible!

But you will remark, "It is so crazy. All this middle-headedness? No one but a maniac could ever conceive of attacking the S. L. P., the most clear-headed of all organizations, by such a barrage." Let us see.

It reminds me of an incident during the height of the post-war persecution mania. I was talking to a newspaper woman of the kind that is sympathetic to labor. I was pumping her full of S. L. P. and Industrial Unionism and she could not get away from it that our position was absolutely correct scientifically. But lastly she made this remark:

"But after all, what is the use of all this correctness? The capitalists are not a bit afraid of you. That is plain. They leave you absolutely alone to say all you want to in your correct and scientific manner. But it is the others, the S. P., the I. W. W., the Communists, that are being persecuted. It shows they are afraid of them, not of you."

I laughed and said: "It never would strike you that it might be exactly vice versa, would it? That they do not attack us because they are afraid to; that they attack them just exactly because it is as easy as taking candy from a baby. And by attacking them the capitalists attack what in the public eye passes for the labor movement. By hiring detectives and spies to make them ridiculous they make the labor movement ridiculous in the public eye. By putting the fear of God into I. W.

W.'s and Communists they put the fear of God and capitalism into the hearts of the mass of the workers and keep them away from the labor movement. But on the other hand if they were to attack the S. L. P.—and they have tried it and failed—they have positively no other ground to attack it on than *principle*, Socialist and Industrial Union principles such as you and I have been discussing; and the minute the capitalists or their political representatives would attack the Socialist movement on principles they would ignobly bite the dust. They have tried it and dropped it like a hot potato. That is why they leave the S. L. P. alone. Not because it is *nothing*, but because it is *something that they cannot touch*; it is impregnable.

"But you will notice if they do attempt to attack the Socialists on principle they never do it directly—they put up a straw man and knock it down. They muddle up the principle, they try to addle the brains of those who are drawn toward Socialist principles."

Adding, that is it exactly! IS it an attempt at adding S. L. P. supporters that is going on now? and systematically? It does not appear at all impossible.

Following upon our last splendid and clear political campaign there was not a single echo of attack or discussion on Party principles. But some capitalist statistician in some capacity attacked Reynolds on the degree of exploitation—a side issue. Reynolds answered. Shortly after that the matter breaks out in the Bronx, where a crowd of conceited young smarties furnished perhaps the Party's weakest link. The Bronx

gets into a state of disruption. Disruptive tactics creep even into the N. E. C. Sub-Committee. The Editor of the PEOPLE is pestered, nagged and attacked. The Bronx matter is settled but another Section is now ardently discussing U. S. Census figures and seems to be at fever heat. No matter how loyal a subdivision may be, such argumentation on side issues interrupts Party work.

Prospective delegates to the convention are jamponed, told flatly by expelled disrupters that the matter will come up at the convention. May we not ask and legitimately: Is there some underground attempt to muddle the Party? To addle its brain and to get us all scrapping and forgetting Party principle and our real work? Why not? It is the only way the opponent would dare to attack the S. L. P. And it is conceivable that there are those shrewd enough to see it.

And then there is this other question of Industrial Unionism. Again not the *principle* is attacked. Oh no, never! But why shouldn't we all start scrapping about what to do with three tailors in Mott Street and two lumberjacks in Skykomish when we organize the industrial branch? Muddle, addle. That is what it all amounts to. Consciously or foolishly planned—it all has the same effect.

Of course there is no real cause for apprehension. Even if these attacks are propelled they are going to get nowhere—the Party is too clear and sound to be thrown off its feet. But it is as well to note such manifestations, particularly when they repeat themselves with clock-like regularity.

It is quite self-evident that when they emanate from the inside of the Party they should be settled with firmness and discipline as quickly and as thoroughly as possible; when they come from the outside—whether from rank outsiders or expelled disrupters—they cannot be too emphatically ignored. To let disaffection over small matters creep into the S. L. P. organization—that is exactly what our enemies would like to see. And such have been the tactics—stupid or sinister—used against the Party from the beginning.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion let me again emphasize that from all indications, from all signs and omens we are close to writing the final chapters in the history of the capitalist system. Only desperate action, the deeds of a desperado, can save it for any time to come. As we approach the final time our tasks are going to be in no wise easier. Our troubles will multiply; bugs and pests will gather around us as moths gather around a flame, only finally to burn their wings. The demands put upon us from the working class will increase, we have to be prepared with ever greater resources to meet both friend and foe; to build and to fight at the same time, like the Israelites when they built their temple with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. It is the Party's central institutions and officials that have to bear the brunt of the attacks in the future as in the past; it is upon them too that the heavy strain of the building work will fall. And let it be thoroughly understood that these institutions and these officials can bear the strain put upon

them only if the whole membership closes ranks and gathers about in one solid, impenetrable, incorruptible, indestructible phalanx.

As we brace ourselves at this convention to go forward to meet new labors, let us do so ever as in times gone by:

With malice toward none, with charity for all, but unflinching and fearless in face of the foe in whatsoever guise it presents itself.

In the words of De Leon:

The Socialist Labor Party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy.

In firm assurance of final victory, it

A P P E N D I X.

A. Platform of the Socialist Labor Party.

(Adopted at the National Convention,

May 1928.)

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America in National Convention assembled in New York on May 13, 1928, reaffirming its previous platform pronouncements, and in accord with international Socialist principles, declares:

Social conditions, as illustrated by events crowded into the last few years, have ripened so fast that the principles, hitherto proclaimed by the Socialist Labor Party, as well as the methods that the Socialist Labor Party has hitherto advocated, stand conspicuously demonstrated. The Capitalist Social System has

pursues its course unswerved by weak desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that, in fearless independence, the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired will, in the long run, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a classconscious, aggressive body.

Its propaganda is not alone to educate, it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand like a rock, alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON,
Editor Weekly People.

wrought its own destruction. Its leading exponents, even when seemingly at war on principles, cannot conceal the identity of their political views. The absence of dividing lines between the two leading political clearing houses of capitalism—the Republican and the Democratic parties; the supineness, almost exultant readiness with which the leading politicians—aspirants for the presidency and other important posts in the Political State—yield themselves to the needs of ultracapitalism, to the exclusion of the needs of the producing masses, proclaim the inner conviction of the foremost men of the Ruling Class that the Republic of Capital is at the end of its tether.

True to economic laws, from which Socialism proceeds, dominant wealth has to such an extent concen-

trated into the hands of a select few, the modern industrial autocracy, that the lower layers of the capitalist class feel driven to the ragged edge, while the large majority of the people, the working class, are being submerged.

True to sociologic laws, by the light of which Socialism reads its forecasts, the industrial autocracy is breaking through its republican-democratic shell and is stretching out its hands toward absolutism in government; the property-holding layers below it are turning at bay; the proletariat is awakening to its consciousness of class, and thereby to the perception of its historic mission.

In the midst of this hurly-burly, and the resulting confusion of thought, all the colors of the rainbow are being projected upon the socialists.

From the lower layers of the capitalist class issue demands for reforms designed to check the logical tendencies of capitalism, demands covering the entire range of social visionariness. Overwhelmed by gigantic combinations in industry and finance, the middle and lower sections of the capitalist class clamor for a return of the age of competition. But even if such a return were possible it should not be effected; even if it should it cannot. To the thinker it is self-evident that the system neither can nor will return to what the Industrial Revolution has been gradually sloughing off during a century of progress.

The law of social progress pushes toward a system of production that shall crown the efforts of man—a system which without arduous toil, with an abundance of the necessities

for material existence, will allow leisure for mental and spiritual expansion. The gigantic machine of modern production is a mechanical contrivance which is solving the problem of material needs which has confronted mankind from its infancy. To smash this contrivance and to reintroduce the days of small-try competition would set back the hands of the dial of time. The mere thought is foolhardy. He who undertakes the feat might as well brace himself against the cascade of Niagara. The cascade of Social Evolution would overwhelm him.

From the lowest layers of the property-holding class—layers that have sniffed the breath of Socialism and imagine themselves Socialists—comes the iridescent theory of capturing the machinery of production for the people by the ballot only, with a vague idea of government ownership and operation as the aim.

But the "capture of the machinery of production for the people" implies the Social Revolution. To imply the Social Revolution with the ballot, without the means of enforcing the fiat of the ballot, in case the Reaction attempts to override it, is to fire blank cartridges at a foe. It is worse. It is to threaten his existence without the means to carry out the threat, which can result only in one of two things—either the leaders are bought out, or the revolutionary class, to which they appeal and which they succeed in drawing along, are led like cattle to the shambles.

An equally iridescent hue of the rainbow is projected from a layer that lies almost wholly within the submerged class—the theory of capturing the machinery of production for the working class with physical

force only and through underground conspiracies. The capture of the machinery of production for the people implies something strikingly different from all previous revolutions. It implies revolution carried on by the masses. For sociologic reasons mass-revolutionary conspiracy is, today, an impossibility, even an absurdity. The trust-holding autocracy may successfully put through a conspiracy of physical force. The smallness of its numbers makes conspiracy possible. The hugeness of the numbers, requisite for a revolution against the trust-holding autocracy, excludes conspiracy from the arsenal of the Revolution, and just as that autocracy at one point of the social circle boldly aims for absolutism and dictatorship in government, so this all but submerged layer at the merging point proclaims its aim to be dictatorship, thus closing the circle.

All these groups have one thing in common: they plant themselves upon the presumption of a continuation of the Political State—a presumption that is at war with logic and social evolution.

Only two programs—the program of Industrial Top-Capitalism and the program of the Socialist Labor Party—grasp the situation.

The Political State, the instrument of class rule and oppression, is worn out in this, the leading capitalist nation of the world. The Socialist or Industrial Government is throbbing for birth. The Political State, being a class state, is government separate and apart from the productive energies of the people; it is government mainly for holding the ruled class in subjection. The Socialist or In-

dustrial Government, being the denial of the class state, is government that is an integral part of the productive energies of the people. As their functions differ, so are the structures of the two "States" different.

The structure of the Political State is based on territorial representation; the structure of the Industrial Government demands representation by industries and useful occupations.

The economic or industrial evolution has reached that point where the Political State no longer can maintain itself under the forms of democracy. While the Industrial Autocracy has relatively shrunk, the enemies it is raising against itself are becoming numerous. Moreover, obedient to the law of its existence, the Political State not only multiplies its enemies; it has been forced to recruit and group the bulk of these enemies, and the revolutionary bulk at that.

The working class of the land, the historically revolutionary element, is grouped by occupations, agricultural as well as industrial, in such manner that—while the "autonomous craft union," at one time the palladium of the workers, has become a harmless scarecrow upon which the capitalist birds roost at ease—the Revolutionary Industrial Unions will spring logically from the modern organization of industry itself and, casting ahead of them the constituencies of the government of the future, point to the Industrial Governmental Organization.

Nor is this all. Not only has the Political State raised its own enemies; not only has it multiplied them; not only has it recruited and

drilled them; not only has it grouped them into shape and form to succeed it; it is, furthermore, driven by its inherent necessities to prodding on the revolutionary class by digging ever more fiercely into its flanks the harpoon of exploitation.

With the purchasing power of wages sinking to ever lower depths; with certainty of work hanging on ever slenderer threads; with an ever more gigantically swelling army of the unemployed; with the need of profits pressing the Industrial Autocracy harder and harder to squander recklessly the workers' limbs and lives; what with all this and the parallel process of merging the workers of all industries into one interdependent solid mass, the final break-up is rendered inevitable.

No wild schemes and no rainbow-chasing will stead in the approaching emergency. The Industrial Autocracy knows this—and so does the Socialist Labor Party—and logical is the program of each.

The program of the Industrial Autocracy is Industrial Feudalism. Where a Social Revolution is pending and for whatever reason is not accomplished, REACTION is the alternative.

The program of the Socialist Labor Party is REVOLUTION—the Industrial or Socialist Republic, the social order where the Political State is overthrown; where the "Congress" of the land, the legislative and executive central directing authority, consists of the representatives of the useful occupations; where, accordingly, the government will be an essential factor in production; where the gigantic machines are freed from the trammels of the private ownership that now turn into

a curse the blessings which these machines are instinct with; where, accordingly, abundance can be the patrimony of all who work; where the shackles of wage slavery are no more.

In keeping with the goals of the different programs are the means of their execution.

The means in contemplation by REACTION is forcible repression. To this end REACTION is seeking, by means of industrial spies and other agencies, to lash the proletariat into acts of violence that may give color to a resort to physical force. By its maneuvers, it is egging the working class on to deeds of fury. The capitalist press echoes the policy, while the pure and simple reformers, pure and simple trade unionists, and "revolutionary" visionaries generally, are snared into the trap.

To the contrary, the means firmly adhered to by the Socialist Labor Party is the constitutional method of political action, backed by the industrially and classconsciously organized proletariat, to the exclusion of anarchy, underground conspiracies, and all that thereby hangs.

At such a critical period in the nation's existence the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the working class of America, more deliberately serious than ever before, to rally at the polls under the Party's banner. And the Party also calls upon all intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of pro-

duction, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder, the Socialist or Industrial Commonwealth—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

B.

Resolution on the Economic Organization of Labor.

The Seventeenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, in session in the City of New York, May 1928, reaffirms the position taken on the question of the economic organization of labor at the Party's Twelfth National Convention, and reaffirmed at the Thirteenth National Convention, 1912, as follows:

Whereas, The integrally organized industrial organization of the working class forms the necessary framework of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and constitutes the organic form of that Commonwealth, as well as of its administrative powers; and

Whereas, Craft unionism, wherever capitalism has reached untrammelled development, has ever shown itself to be what the plutocratic *Wall Street Journal* has designated it, when hailing the craft-divided American Federation of Labor as the "bulwark of capitalist society"—an organization which because of its inherent character has bred the official-

dom which a once notorious capitalist politician recognized as his "Labor Lieutenantship"; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the bona fide or revolutionary Socialist Movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of labor, the former for propaganda and to conduct the struggle for the conquest of the capitalist-controlled Political State upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot, without which force all balloting is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lockout of the capitalist class; and be it further

Resolved, That without the political organization, the Labor or Socialist Movement could not attain the hour of its triumph; and without the economic organization, the day of its triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; and without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement; therefore, in order to maintain the uncompromising policies and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party of America, based upon the foregoing postulates, be it

Resolved, That we condemn all efforts to blur the lines of the class struggle, by whomsoever attempted, efforts that aim at misleading the working class on the political field into middle class movements and confounding it with middle class issues; and on the economic field would seek to confine all efforts at working class organization to a "poring from within" collaboration with the capi-

talist-controlled labor lieutenants of the pure and simple craft unions.

C.

Resolution on International Socialist Movement.

The Socialist movement, in its international aspect, presents today a picture of something violently torn asunder, the several fragments of which have not yet had time and under the conditions prevailing have not had the opportunity to recollect. The pre-war expression of that movement, the so-called Second International, burned up in the nationalist fires kindled by the World War, is today but a pitiful remnant of its former self and has become an appendage to the imperialist capitalist plunderbund known as the League of Nations. Largely dominated before the war by the German Social Democracy, after the war the mantle passed to the British Labor party—which carried with it no improvement of its status. As an organization that is to guide the international Socialist movement it has ceased to be, if, indeed, it was ever such.

With the advent of the Russian Revolution, as naturally as action begets counteraction, another International, the Communist or so-called Third International, appeared. The Second International had been largely an aggregation of political parties, paying but scant attention to the organization of the working class on the economic field where its real power lies; the Third International did appear equipped with both

the political and the economic arm, the first known for short as the "Comintern," while the other, the economic organization, is known as the "Profintern." The Second International had been an organization of national units loosely hung together and with no real power in an international sense, with crisscrossing currents and counter-currents so strikingly characterized by Daniel De Leon in his "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress"; the Third International sought to cure these defects by means of a rigid centralization, which, with the relative weakness of the Communist movement in the countries other than Russia, resulted in the Third International becoming, in point of fact, a Russian organization, dominated by the Russian Communist party and seeking to serve specific Russian ends.

The sharp irreconcilable contrast between the Second and the Third Internationals led to an attempt to start what in America might be called a middle-of-the-road movement, and resulted in what has somewhat humorously been referred to as the Second and a half International. It had its birth in Austria, led a short and flickering life and today is heard of no more.

The Second International is today plainly a reformist body, part of the capitalist machine, its Social Democratic following abandoning more and more even the former hollow pretence to revolutionary Socialist principles, a devotion strikingly exemplified by the so-called Socialist party of America which, at its recent national convention, eliminated from its application for membership

all reference to the class struggle and in other ways demonstrated its petty bourgeois character so often pointed out by the Socialist Labor Party. Affiliation with such an international body on the part of a revolutionary Socialist movement as represented by the Socialist Labor Party is simply unthinkable as has emphatically been stated by the S. L. P. when, after the close of the World War, that Second International tried to approach the S. L. P. as one of its constituent bodies.

Affiliation with the Third International is likewise impossible but for vastly different reasons. The policy pursued by that body, born at the time the capitalist world had thrown a ring of steel—the so-called *Cordon Sanitaire*—around Russia for the purpose of crushing the Russian Revolution, was continued after the conditions that gave it birth no longer existed. This policy, the essence of which consisted in urging on attempts to start revolutions in other countries by armed uprisings regardless of the conditions existing in these countries, found its most ludicrous expression during what may be called the Zinoviev regime in the Third International. It degenerated to positive burlesque in the United States, where a succession of so-called Communist parties, at first underground in the naive belief that they would thus escape the solicitous attention of the authorities, finally culminated in the so-called and above-ground Workers (Communist) party, a concern that curiously commingles ultra-revolutionary blood-and-thunder phrases with reformist political demands and, being a true offshoot from its parent

Socialist party, seeks to perpetrate on the economic field the boring from-within policy in the craft unions of the land, a policy which, conditions in America being what they are, could only result in the bores boring themselves out—which, in some instances, they have done, and were then confronted with the question, "Where do we go from here?"

The policy of the Third International found its top-notch expression in the formulation of a series of conditions under which a party might affiliate with it and which became known as the 21 points. One of them was the obligation to maintain a secret political organization side by side with one not so secret, the former to control the latter, shape its policies and act as its guide; another was the obligation to carry the revolutionary propaganda to the military forces of any country, which "points," ludicrous enough when given universal application, become almost childish when applied to the United States.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, in a series of articles published some time ago and later issued in pamphlet form and sent all over the world, punctured the 21 points and all that hangs thereby, showing conclusively that the time for the formation of a real Socialist International is not yet; that the task of the day is to labor and to wait until the rock-based principles of the Socialist Labor Party of America in the course of the further development of social conditions find more general recognition.

In the light of all that has been

pointed out above, the Socialist Labor Party of America, assembled in National Convention this 13th day of May, 1928, in firm assurance that time will prove the correctness of its position in point of principle and in point of tactics, reaffirms its previous decisions in regard to the international organization of the Socialist movement, and declares that under the conditions prevailing it must continue to stand alone in upholding the banner of revolutionary political action and at the same time, in season and out of season, urge upon the American working class the crying need of industrial organization along revolutionary lines that will not only make possible resistance to capitalist encroachments, but furnish the irresistible power to take and hold and operate the industries of the nation when the day of the impending social transformation has come.

D.

Resolution on Capitalist Imperialism.

Capitalist imperialism, the latest and inevitably the last phase of the capitalist cycle, when considered in all its bearings and ramifications presents a complete picture of the world situation, in both a political and an economic sense.

The imperialist phase of capitalist development begins to become active when in the industrially most advanced countries, capital accumulation has reached a point where internal requirements have been amply covered and when therefore

capital for purposes of investment seeks employment in foreign lands. The roots of imperialism must be looked for in the rapid concentration and trustification of industry and commerce. In the wake of that, and stimulating it as the process unfolds itself, comes the rise of high finance, of a money oligarchy which dominates through a few giant banking institutions almost the entire capital accumulation of the nation, not only of the industrial and commercial capitalists themselves, but of the middle class as well in so far as all these funds gather in various reservoirs, trust companies, insurance companies, savings banks and other financial institutions. Banking capital, if the term be permitted, at one time a handmaid of industry and commerce, in course of time becomes their mistress, representing as it does the most mobile and therefore the most effective form of capitalist power. The control of credit shapes, makes and unmakes business conditions, and suitable legislation helps along in many ways to make that control complete. The inter-action of cause and effect is perfect.

When this development has reached a certain point, the tentacles of imperialism begin to reach out all over the globe, at first into colonial and semi-colonial countries where natural resources are ample, where labor is cheap, where in consequence profits are high, and where resistance is feeble. Today, the entire world has practically been divided among the few imperialist nations and the vast majority of the population of the earth has become tributary to these few, that is to say, to the ruling classes of these few. England and France, together with

some lesser hangers-on (Belgium, Portugal, Italy) still tolerated, dominate the African continent; the United States dominates in some form or other Central and South America as well as the islands of the Caribbean, plus the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands in the Pacific; Japan dominates Korea, Manchuria, Formosa and seeks other footholds on the Chinese mainland; and all of them seek to dominate China, the biggest prize yet to be contended for, leaving aside the Indian Empire already under British domination.

But with the world divided and no new worlds to conquer, imperialist ambition inevitably turns upon itself. Imperialist development is, in the main, still along nationalist lines with consequent rivalries for "places in the sun," and the latent danger of violent collision is ever present, which accounts for the hectic "peace" talk with which our ears are filled, for the League of Nations, for "preparatory" disarmament conferences, for non-aggression pacts and what not, all of which must be regarded as so many symptoms of war impending, because capitalism, especially imperialist capitalism, and peace are incompatible.

The world had an example of this in 1914 when Germany, then an aggressive aspirant for imperialist honors and a place in the sun, had to be and was for a time at least eliminated as a rival by the other imperialist brethren, which elimination process gave rise to a war wherein nearly the entire world became involved and which cost millions upon millions of human lives and billions upon billions of wealth.

The World War has had two outstanding results: one the Russian Revolution and the rise of the Soviet power, the other the rise of the United States to a position of unquestioned industrial and financial dominance. German rivalry, chiefly directed against British imperialism, was replaced by American rivalry; the latter far more menacing. Czarist despotism crumbled in the midst of the war and was replaced by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the very antithesis of American imperialism. This American imperialism, dominating a country of vast natural resources, possessing a huge production machine and labor supply, is carrying on wealth production at a rate that is the marvel of the world and is setting a pace all the other imperialists must seek to follow or be crowded to the rear. American capitalism, through its high finance department, today controls the bulk of the world's gold supply, directs the movement of gold throughout the world and thereby dominates the credit situation. American investments abroad have risen to unprecedented figures and it is estimated that far more than a billion dollars per year is due "us" in interest, not counting the sums due in settlement of war debts, creating a situation where, present tendencies continuing, a point will be reached when such interest payments can no longer be made in terms of money and American capitalism will be confronted with the question of having to accept goods instead. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, with a territorial expanse still greater than that of the United States of America, with natural resources still more vast and practically untouched, and

with a potential labor supply of huge proportions, is striving with might and main to become the rallying center of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world and at the same time to consolidate her position, to build up her industries, improve her agriculture, educate and train her population, with fair prospects of attaining a position of material power that in time will rival if not exceed that of the United States.

In view of the situation here presented, this, then, is the outlook in matters of world affairs: 1) The possibility of an armed conflict to be carried on by two rival groups in alignments that cannot as yet be foretold with certainty, which is certain to encompass the globe, and as a final result of which the capitalist social system may make its exit in an ocean of blood and tears; or, 2) perhaps on a somewhat longer view, the inevitable conflict between Soviet Russia and the capitalist world which, when it comes, is bound to set the world aflame. The longer this inevitable conflict is delayed, the more devastating its effects are likely to be. Uprisings among the peoples of Asia against their imperialist oppressors may be regarded as a certainty, and equally certain is the prospect of civil war within at least some of the attacking imperialist nations themselves. Large numbers of workers will refuse to aid in such a war and coercive measures against them will call forth bitter and determined resistance. That the capitalism of that day can hope to survive such a conflict seems beyond the bounds of possibility; already nearing the end of its tether, the tremendous shock of the giant

forces then set in motion is bound to submerge it.

In the light of these observations it is of interest to note the mental attitude of what may be called the body of world liberal opinion. Apparently unable to grasp in all its fullness the trend of events, linked by a network of material interests and personal relations to the capitalist system and for that reason regarding the latter as a finality to be successively "improved" rather than superseded, the adherents of liberalism stand helpless and bewildered. They rail against effects and ignore causes, bewail the "excesses" of capitalist imperialism and would faintly put a stop to them. A case in point is the outcry against the American imperialist venture in Nicaragua and elsewhere — without, however, seeking to stop the wellspring from which all these "blessings" flow. The liberal represents the very epitome of futility.

Such is the lay of the land that only the revolutionary Socialist can clearly comprehend and philosophically evaluate it; consequently he alone can point out the drift of the social forces at work within modern society. Understanding fully whether these forces are lending, it is he who seeks to arouse the working class to a realization of the conditions confronting it and of the historic mission social evolution has assigned to it, namely, the complete overthrow of the social system known as capitalism, and the ushering in of the new social system now in the making—the Socialist Industrial Republic, wherein the contradictions that now beset us will be dissolved by dissolving the cause that produces them, wherein wealth produc-

tion will be carried on for use and not for sale, and wherein, the class war having been abolished by the abolition of class divisions, peace, real peace, will at last become possible and the human race will be lifted to cultural heights undreamed of today.

In view of the certainty of the severe struggles that lie ahead, the Socialist Labor Party, assembled in National Convention this 18th day of May, 1928, feels impelled to raise the voice of warning, not only to the working class of America but to the working class of the world, to prepare in time for the huge task assigned to it by organizing its immense numbers along such lines and with such aims as will ease the birthpangs of the new order when that new order MUST be born. Only where the working class, by means of efficient industrial and political organization and action, is enabled to take hold of the instruments of production and to carry on, can social chaos be avoided.

The Socialist Labor Party calls to the workers of the United States in particular, where a comparatively peaceful solution of the social problem is still possible, and where the decision whether or not it shall be so rests, in the last analysis, not with the capitalist class but with the working class of America, against whose material power, if properly organized and directed by a truly revolutionary will, there can be no effective resistance.

Today, capitalist imperialism still rules supreme, dominating five-sixths of the surface of the earth and all the seven seas, but it is a colossus with feet of clay deriving all its strength from the workers of

the world still acquiescent, still tolerating the incubus; but in due course of time the workers of the world, driven by sheer necessity and the instinct of self-preservation, will cease to be acquiescent and become revolutionary.

When that time comes capitalism will vanish from the earth with the dawn of a new civilization.

E.

Resolution on Unemployment.

Early this year, the rhapsodies of the capitalist press about the great prosperity enjoyed by the United States, the high wages paid to labor, and the consequent high standard of living of the American working class unequalled anywhere on this globe, were rudely disturbed. It came to be known and could no longer be suppressed that unemployment on a scale rivaling the depression of 1921 was stalking through the land.

Because of the absence in this most efficient of nations of dependable employment statistics, estimates of all kinds and degrees came forward, varying from a figure of less than two million unemployed reluctantly admitted by Secretary of Labor Davis and a four million estimate advanced by the New York Labor Bureau, Inc., up to the figure of over eight million unemployed insisted upon by Senator Shipstead (Farmer-Labor, Minn.), the latter figure representing approximately one-fifth of the number of persons listed by the U. S. Census as "gainfully employed."

To account for this unemployment phenomenon all sorts of explanations have been advanced, from immigration, floods and tornadoes to the progressive mechanization of industry and agriculture, but the real reason, the constantly advancing rate of exploitation of labor, is never mentioned by the official spokesmen of the prevailing social system. The measures proposed but apparently never carried out to relieve the situation, if not to "cure" the evil, are about as helpful as a plaster on a wooden leg.

The unemployment situation, cumulative for years and made "sudden" to the perception by the appearance in our cities of ever lengthening bread lines of the jobless, homeless and foodless workers, who, after having produced wealth in abundance and superabundance, find themselves crowded out of almost all social contacts, has awakened thought and stimulated inquiry. It is found, and it is published, that so far from a drop in industrial and agricultural production commensurate with the number of unemployed, production has either remained stationary or has increased, and, moreover, that increased output goes hand in hand with a decrease of the number of workers employed. In petroleum refining an increase of output amounting to 84 per cent is accompanied by a decrease in employment figures of 5 per cent; in tobacco an increased output of 53 per cent shows at the same time a decrease of employment amounting to 13 per cent; in meat (slaughtering and packing) the output increased 20 per cent and employment figures declined 19 per cent; steel companies

produce three times as much pig iron as in 1904 with the same crew of men; 71 per cent of the bituminous coal is dug by machinery and the companies can dig a year's supply with about half the labor it would have required in 1890; in building, contractors are able to put up eleven per cent more square feet of finished buildings with 15 per cent fewer men than in 1923; and in farming it is estimated that 45,000 harvesting and threshing machines have replaced 130,000 American farm hands — and so on and so forth all along the line in our most important industries during the years 1923-1927.

Frederick Engels, co-worker of Karl Marx, many years ago pointed to the conflict in capitalist society between the means of production and the methods of production, the means outgrowing the methods and introducing a glaring contradiction between the highly and scientifically organized production processes in a given industry and the near-anarchy existing in the general production conditions of society as a whole, a contradiction insoluble in a society where the product is withheld from the producers—the millions—and becomes the private property of the few.

In the United States of America, where industrial development marches with incredible speed, this contradiction stands out most conspicuously; the vicious circle within which capitalist production and exchange is compelled to move grows ever narrower. The progressive mechanization of industry and agriculture increases output per labor unit, which results in large numbers of workers being crowded out of em-

ployment with no place to go; the rate of exploitation rises, i.e., the wages of those employed represent an ever smaller share of the social values produced; and, as a further result, the purchasing power of the masses is constantly shrinking in relation to the volume of product, a condition still further intensified by the almost total annihilation of the purchasing power of the unemployed. These fundamental facts, never dwelt upon by capitalist spokesmen and apologists, set the horoscope of the future of the American working class and these fundamental facts the American working class will sooner or later be called upon to face.

Side by side with this progressive deterioration of the condition of the masses of our people stands the still progressive prosperity of big business. We are assured in a recent publication of one of our leading New York banks that "No one who has looked over the annual reports of our leading corporations for the past year can fail to be impressed with the well nigh impregnable position which most of these reports reveal. Never before has business been so solidly entrenched in cash and so unencumbered with inventory. A few over-extended spots can be found, as always, but nothing which in the event of liquidation would cause more than a local disturbance." The condition here pictured is a true reflex of the condition of the masses, for the more thoroughly the latter are robbed of what they have produced, the more prosperous in the nature of things must be the condition of big business.

Serious and full of portent are the problems facing the American

working class, and serious and of unflagging devotion must be the efforts of the men and women in the Socialist Labor Movement, whose mission it is to carry the message of emancipation to the workers of the land. The Socialist Labor Party, in this national campaign of 1928, again has raised aloft its uncompromising standard inscribed with the demand for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class; and again it calls upon the American working class to rally around that standard.

It is in the light of these facts that the Socialist Labor Party of America, assembled in National Convention this 13th day of May, 1928, calls upon the working class of America to face these facts, cleared, understandingly and with a firm purpose. The problems presented by these facts can be met by the working class only by a thorough-going organization of its overwhelming numbers, organization on the political field under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party for the purpose of wresting from the capitalist minority the powers of state, now held and used by that minority for purposes of class domination and for protecting its stolen goods; and organization on the economic or industrial field for the double purpose (a) of setting against the economic power of the capitalist masters the economic power of a united working class, of using that power to safeguard and to enforce if need be the flat of the ballot, with the revolutionary end in view of terminating, once for all, the devastating rule of the capitalist system and erecting in its stead the Industrial Socialist Republic in

which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization; and (b) for the purpose of setting up the integral industrial organization units which can and will not only carry on production during the period of struggle and bolt the door to anarchy and disorder, but form the framework of the edifice of the Industrial Socialist Republic, a society where class lines will have disappeared and with them the capitalist Political State which is but the reflex of class division.

F.

Resolution on the State of the Coal Industry.

The coal industry of America is in a state of utter chaos, a chaos most marked in its bituminous branch. The situation is one that illustrates capitalist incapacity successfully to manage industry under a system of competition which, for the sake of individual or corporate gain, is bound to disregard the vital interests of the nation. What is now going on in the coal industry, and in a measure in the oil industry, is but a little more advanced and visible and hence but a foreboding of what eventually is going to happen in all other industries if the capitalist competitive system of production and distribution is permitted to continue. The coal industry therefore serves here only as a horrible example of an utterly appalling and threatening condition.

We are told, and it is true, that the soft-coal industry of the country

is over-developed; that there are too many mines, and, consequently, too many miners; that at present one-half million bituminous miners can produce one billion tons of coal per annum and that the market can absorb but one-half that volume; that other factors encroach upon the domain of soft coal, oil for one and water power for another, and that on top of all this improved methods of mining tend still further to send up the volume of coal mined and at the same time reduce the number of miners needed for the work; that improved methods of utilization on ships, in factories, and on railroads extract from each pound of coal more heat, and therefore more power, than ever before—all of which factors, however beneficent in themselves, tend to make worse a situation bad enough as it is.

In the face of this situation capitalist society stands bewildered and utterly helpless.

So far as the working class element enters into the situation, the men who dig the coal and perform an indispensable social service, the unionized miner with a higher wage rate barely gets two hundred working days a year on an average, while the non-union miner with a much lower wage rate gets more working days but in the end finds himself in the same plight as his unionized fellow worker, company pluck-me-stores and other devices keeping him in a state of peonage. If in sheer despair the union miner goes on strike, it is found that the non-union mines can and do speed up production so that no shortage is felt, as has been amply proven during the past year when strikes of soft coal miners in Central and Western

Pennsylvania and Southern Ohio—and for a time in Illinois—were amply counteracted by increased production of non-union mines in West Virginia and Kentucky.

And in so far as mine owners' interests are concerned, while the smaller operators are subjected to severe losses by these strikes and are often driven into bankruptcy, the larger and more powerful interests, often linked directly or through subsidiary corporations with railroads and other large industrial consumers, and owning mines in both the union and the non-union regions, are able to "compete" against themselves and play both ends against the middle.

Prodded by these repeated strikes, the capitalist Political State has been stirred now and then into a semblance of activity, without, however, touching or even approaching the fundamentals of the problem, as in the nature of things it cannot. In 1922, under just such pressure as exists today, Congress appointed a Coal Commission. The commission was in action for about eleven months, investigated, spent about \$600,000, issued a voluminous report of over 400 pages which laid bare the evils besetting the coal industry and made a number of recommendations none of which dealt with other than surface effects and none of which received subsequently any kind of attention at the hands of the national legislative body.

In 1924, another strike conflict impending, the Republican party, fearful of the loss of miners' votes in otherwise rock-ribbed Republican states, which might have impaired the chances of continued success of the crowd in power, brought pres-

sure to bear and a truce was patched up—the so-called Jacksonville agreement—under the terms of which peace was to be preserved until April 1, 1927. The truce did not work out uniformly. It did hold good after a fashion in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, but was largely broken through in Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia. When on April 1, 1927, renewal of the Jacksonville agreement was refused by the mine owners, a strike in the bituminous fields was called which brought out about 180,000 miners in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and some outlying fields. This strike, lasting until the summer of that year (1927), was compromised by extending the Jacksonville agreement until April 1, 1928, in the Illinois, Indiana and some other minor fields, but Ohio and Pennsylvania continued on strike and are still on strike after a fashion. April 1, 1928, came and went and the present situation is one of utter confusion—not to say despair—with no solution of the coal problem in sight.

Early in 1928—the national campaign approaching apace—the United States Senate appointed a committee to investigate the strike situation in Pennsylvania, Ohio and northern West Virginia. The committee went to the strike regions, investigated the conditions prevailing there and, according to newspaper reports, pronounced them "a blot upon American institutions." The larger coal companies, in which our leaders in high finance and national politics are interested—the Mellons, Rockefeller, Schwabs, et al—maintain downright feudal conditions in their respective domains. Constitutional guarantees and civic rights

based thereon do not exist. The local courts are under their domination and neither free speech nor a free press are tolerated. Injuries can be had for the asking from bidding everything imaginable from the distribution of relief to the singing of hymns—if the strikers do the singing. A brutal force of armed mercenaries, known as the coal and iron police, rides roughshod over all the rights the striking miners are theoretically supposed to possess. Strikebreakers are held in virtual captivity and if any seek to escape the state of peonage imposed upon them, the coal and iron police pursues them even beyond the borders of the mine property, arrests them on the public highways and "leads them back to the path of duty," all this of course in plain violation of state and federal laws.

Conditions of utter misery, sickness and starvation are reported; of wholesale evictions of striking miners from company houses; of their being housed in hastily erected clap-board barracks provided by the union, without water and without everything else to make possible existence above the level of a hog pen. These barracks have not yet been subjected to machine-gun fire as were the tent colonies of striking miners some few years ago at Ludlow, Colo., but what the conditions depicted will yet lead to rests in the lap of the future.

The economic organization of the miners, the United Mine Workers of America, is but a reflex of the unconscious, craft-ridden, fakel American labor movement. Originally hailed as an "industrial union," the U. M. W. A. constituted for many years the chief prop of the

craft-divided American Federation of Labor, of which it has been said that it is neither "American," nor a "Federation," nor of "Labor"; led all along by a coterie of accomplished labor fakers—the late John Mitchell with John L. Lewis and Wm. Green still in evidence, with Frank Farington and the like as local aides, and furnishing occasional Secretaries of Labor to Democratic and Republican Administrations in our capitalist government—all of them corrupt to the marrow of their bones, all of them without social vision and, indeed, without desiring any such, as behooves the regular labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. Today the organization these fakers have misled and still mislead stands helpless and hopeless before the situation that confronts it; intent only upon feathering their own nests and foolishly permitted by the rank and file to be the recipients of salaries and emoluments which put them into an entirely different economic category from the rank and file, which facts characterize both the leaders and the led. The policies pursued by these comorants, plus the economic factors already outlined, have brought the organization to the verge of disruption. At one time encompassing 65 per cent of the soft coal miners, today it has barely one-third of the total number and is faced with further continuous losses.

The miners themselves, in the mass, are not conscious of their class interests, and back of them is a general so-called labor movement that is no more so. Under such circumstances it is impossible to expect a political expression of that same movement able to make itself heard

and felt, hence the hopelessness of the present outlook, an outlook without impelling power or convincing appeal, causing us to look to the very trials and tribulations of the rank and file as the chief means of awakening them to classconscious thought and action.

Such in brief are the conditions in the American coal mining industry, and it is these conditions which prompt the Socialist Labor Party, assembled in National Convention this 18th day of May, 1928, to raise the voice of warning to the American working class that in the condition of the miners the rest of the workers may see reflected as in a mirror their own future fate unless they bestir themselves, learn to understand their true position within capitalist society, become conscious of the historic mission which social evolution imposes upon them and, thus equipped, begin to organize their vast numbers on the political and the economic field with the outspoken purpose of taking and holding the means of production and distribution, of ending capitalism and of erecting in its stead the Industrial Socialist Republic. The means to this end are, first, an industrial organization that takes in all the workers, the employed and the unemployed, ranks them as a clear understanding of our industrial development demands, imbues them with the ideology of the twofold function of such an organization, that of resisting capitalist encroachment and that of putting a final end to the capitalist nightmare; and, second, a political party that carries on the same struggle on the political field, there to wrest the powers of state from the capitalist foe, a political

party which, in essence, has but one plank in its platform: the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

Such a party is the Socialist Labor Party. And it is the only such party in the land.

It has stood in the past and it stands now, firmly and uncompromisingly, for these principles, and in this 1928 national campaign it calls upon the working class of America to rally around its banner and under that banner march on to its own emancipation.

In every election that comes around, the genius of American institutions presents to the American working class an opportunity to open a new epoch, to instill new hopes, to electrify the country and to set her on the way toward the ultimate goal of the race, the Industrial Socialist Republic, a commonwealth that will not know rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed, idling drones and task-racked workers, a commonwealth wherein the true civilization the human race is capable of will be attained.

G.

Resolution on Capitalist Corruption and Capitalist Ferocity.

In a society where, due to class divisions, exploiters and exploited are facing one another in hostile array, the former constituting a small minority of the population while the latter form its bulk, there is bound to develop among the exploiters a peculiar psychology, the basis of which is fear of the mass. The mass may as yet be but dimly

aware of the unbridgeable antagonism existing between the two classes, but the exploiting minority is bound to be if not always perfectly clear at least instinctively apprehensive upon the subject. Out of that condition grow several manifestations:

one the savage manner in which the exploiting class will suppress, sometimes by means of the ruthless use of the political power placed in its hands by the as yet unsuspecting majority, at other times by the use of force pure and simple without the cloak of legality, any attempt on the part of the exploited toward social betterment be it ever so humble; another manifestation is the rank, luxurious corruption permeating every fibre of the capitalist Political State, born of the subconscious fear that, some day, there may be an end to Paradise, and that it is best to grab what you can while you can on the principle of "after us the deluge."

The first manifestation has been exemplified in the history of the American labor movement in so many ways and by so many examples that to recount all the incidents would require volumes: the shooting and killing of strikers as in Colorado, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Buffalo and elsewhere; raids upon labor headquarters accompanied by the destruction of life and property; the employment of murderous gangs of gunmen under the guise of "deputy sheriffs" and company police—these and others are but a few of the many extra-legal means to suppress the exploited.

But what stands out more impressively is when the same end is sought by setting in motion the "majestic" apparatus of the law, when, in other words, the ruling minority of ex-

ploited, in giving vent to its homicidal tendencies, seeks to sanctify these tendencies by throwing around them the mantle of legality. Two examples will suffice to characterize these tendencies, the two just forty years apart.

On November 11, 1887, there were executed by hanging in the city of Chicago, Ill., four men: Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel and George Fischer, while another also condemned to the gallows, Louis Lingg, cheated the hangman by nearly blowing off his head with a dynamite cartridge while in prison; and three more, Sam Fielden, Oscar Neebe and Rudolph Schwab were condemned to lifelong imprisonment. Why? Because on May 1, 1886, there had been held an 8-hour day demonstration meeting on Haymarket Square. When that meeting was about to be adjourned, the Chicago police brutally sought to disperse the crowd and then somebody threw a bomb and several of the police were killed. To this day nobody knows who threw the bomb, whether an enraged participant in the meeting or a Pinkerton detective, but on the theory that the speeches and teachings of the men above mentioned had prompted the unknown bomb-thrower to do what he did, judicial murder was committed by a usurping and exploiting class scared out of its wits and shouting for blood at the slightest sign of revolt among the exploited.

That it had been judicial murder, and nothing but that, was officially established six years later, in 1893, when John Altgeld, then Governor of the State of Illinois, issued a pardon to the three imprisoned men and in an exhaustive statement con-

clusively showed the utter untenability of the position of the prosecution in that case, namely, to connect an unknown bomb-thrower with the men on trial for their lives, none of whom were charged with having thrown the bomb and some of whom were not even at the meeting where it had been thrown.

On August 23, 1927, there were executed by electrocution in Boston, Mass., two men: Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Why? Because in 1920, seven years prior to their execution, there had been a hold-up at South Braintree, Mass., in which two men guarding a payroll had been killed. Under the influence of post-war psychology Sacco and Vanzetti were accused of having participated in the deed and arrested. The real cause of their arrest and subsequent prosecution was that they were professed Anarchists, superadded to which was the fact that Nicola Sacco had taken part in a strike of shoe workers. After a most unfair trial, conducted by the prosecution with purchased witnesses and almost every other crooked device, the two men, their case still more burdened by a trial judge so prejudiced that he had been heard in private conversation at a club to refer to the defendants as "Anarchist bastards," were found guilty and condemned to death.

Then followed strenuous efforts to have the case reviewed, but since under the Massachusetts law a court of appeals may not review the facts of the case but only the form of procedure in the lower court, these came to nothing. For seven long years these efforts continued, exciting world-wide attention and indignation at so evident a miscarriage of jus-

tice, but in the end the capitalist beast triumphed and the two men, their guilt in no wise proven and with every indication of their innocence, were burned to death in the electric chair.

Again it was a case of judicial murder, but no Altgeld has as yet arisen in the camp of the bourgeoisie to brand it as such. That may yet come to pass, but if not it will be the task and the duty of America's working class some day to put the brand of Cain on the brow of the capitalist class for this foul deed, adding it to the many that preceded it and to those yet to come, as surely they will.

These few examples show and prove what the working class may expect at the hands of its capitalist adversary if once the workers begin to move consciously toward their own emancipation. There is but one means to meet capitalist atrocity, only one means to check its ferocity, and that is working class organization on the political and the industrial field, organization nationwide and animated with the revolutionary purpose to put an end to a social system under which the working class outlook is hopeless, under which the members of the working class will be fed wholesale into the maw of war, and murdered in retail by judicial procedure.

The second manifestation of capitalist depravity, the political corruption rampant in nation, state and municipality down to the smallest hamlet, requires but little space properly to characterize and to point out that a logical and inner connection exists between the savage persecution and judicial murder of rebellious workers and the freeing of

Edward Doheny and H. F. Sinclair, the oil magnates whose bribing operations invaded the very Cabinet of the President of the United States, and who, put on trial on the charge of conspiracy in the matter of the Elk Hill and Teapot Dome oil leases, after a mistrial for tampering with the jury in the case of Sinclair, were handsomely acquitted of the charge.

Viewed from one aspect, that of the money involved in these corrupt deals, it matters little to the working class to what extent the capitalists rob one another, having already deprived the working class of what they relieve each other of; and viewed from another aspect, that of the noxious influence of such corruption upon our public life, it may be observed that there is no cure for that so long as capitalism lasts, for the typical capitalist is bound to rob or steal while he breathes, and all attempts to "reform" him out of that habit needs must come to naught.

Capitalist ferocity and capitalist corruption can be opposed and checked only by thoroughgoing, classconscious working class organization.

Unless the American working class moves promptly in this direction, the day will surely come when its members will rue the delay. The history of the American labor movement affords ample lessons of what to expect at the hands of the capitalist class, and the open sympathy shown in capitalist circles to European Fascism re-enforces the lessons. The class struggle in capitalist society is an irrepressible, fundamental fact, a fact not to be ignored or glossed over, and a clear recognition of that fact on the part of the Amer-

ican working class will go far to mitigate its effects and insure its successful outcome.

It is in view of all this that the Socialist Labor Party of America, assembled in national convention this 13th day of May, 1928, calls upon the members of the American working class to keep their eyes fixed not upon this or that manifestation of the capitalist system, which are but effects of an underlying cause, but upon the system itself which inevitably produces these effects, judicial murders of members of the working class and political corruption included, and to take steps speedily to organize their immense numbers on the political and the industrial field; on the political field for the purpose of wresting from the capitalist class the powers of state now used by it for the suppression of the workers; and on the industrial field by means of the Socialist Industrial Union for the purpose of taking, holding and operating the means of production, supplying the needs of the nation and lifting it to a higher plane of civilization.

H.

Resolution on Labor Banks, Labor Insurance Schemes, Labor Stock Ownership and "Cooperative" Movements.

Whenever in history a revolutionary period is drawing to a head, well-meaning persons, visionaries, schemers and charlatans will by some curious inner urge be drawn together and unite on various schemes, often one wilder than another, having for their ostensible purpose the

alleviation of the evils from which society or the revolutionary class suffers; but in reality their object, overt or covert, understood or blindly dashed at, is to act as a lightning rod to direct the gathering revolutionary electricity into the ground. Such was the Gracchi land reform movement toward the end of the Roman Republic; the attempts at tax reforms in the days of Louis XVI. of France; the corn laws of England; the appointment of begging committees to explain colonial troubles to King George and Lord North; and such was the attempt in the 1850's of the society for purchasing blacks and repatriating them to "Liberia," Africa.

In America today, what passes in the public eye and even in the world's eye for the labor movement is not only utterly bankrupt as far as is concerned any future possibility of emancipating the workers from wage slavery, but it is even failing to act as a brake on the downward trend of the mass of the workers in the daily economic struggle with capital. It is not strange then that at a time when the workers are growing more and more restive, innumerable schemes should arise that put forth the pretence of emancipating the workers behind society's back, so to speak, with the capitalist system still intact.

Accordingly, we have with us today labor banks, union labor life insurance schemes, stock ownership of employees in some industries, by means of which they are supposed eventually to "become capitalists"; and in the fulness of time, when these tendencies have worked themselves out in all their completeness, the proletariat will presumably have

disappeared as a constituent factor in capitalist society, at least such would be the logical conclusion from the premises of the more enthusiastic exponents of this kind of "cooperation between capital and labor."

This so-called American labor movement is passing through a period of physical marasmus and spiritual atrophy, its top leadership unspeakably corrupt and serving as a cat paw for capitalist machinations, and its lower layers producing scandal after scandal (Sam Parkes, Brindell, etc., etc.) in faithful imitation of their "betters" at the head of our national public affairs. The American Federation of Labor is plainly consumptive, its membership rapidly dwindling to ever lower figures and standing helpless before the many problems presented by modern industrial conditions.

On the political field, the condition prevailing is most naturally the exact reflex of that prevailing on the economic field; kite-tail politics on the part of trade unions, i.e., the endorsement and support of capitalist candidates "friendly to labor," which "friendliness," however well meant, somehow always fails to produce practical results, a failure perhaps due to the fact that these candidates are still more friendly to their own class and, finding they cannot ride two horses running in opposite directions, they stick to the saddle of the capitalist horse. Perennially we hear of a Labor party to be formed, which never gets beyond the formative stage, and that is varied from the "radical" side by attempts to form Farmer-Labor parties.

It is under such conditions that the working class is advised to pull itself by its own bootstraps out of

its class condition under capitalism but yet preserve capitalist society.

Ever and anon the world is treated to a lecture or a dissertation on the subjects hereinbefore mentioned, notably on labor banks and employees' stock owning schemes. In regard to the latter it has been suggested by the capitalist scribes that if the employees of the United States Steel Corporation, for example, instead of going on strike and causing no end of loss to themselves and others, had bought shares of stock of the same corporation, they would now be fairly on the way to control the industry. The record shows, however, that while from 1909 to 1921 inclusive they had purchased 911,599 shares of common stock, on October 1, 1922, their holdings had shrunk to 463,742 shares—indicating either lack of ability to keep up the stock buying, or that they had come to understand that to buy stock in a concern wherein they are the sole source of profits would be like hoisting themselves by their own bootstraps.

It is scarcely possible to imagine anything more naive and utopian than that the workers with a combined wage that barely (but not for all of them) keeps them above the subsistence level should be able to buy the controlling power in the gigantic corporations of the land. It has been humorously figured out that the interest on all the stock owned by employees in industries would not even keep these workers in cigarettes at a fairly moderate estimate. No one knows this better than the capitalists in control, which undoubtedly accounts for the fact that they so far from opposing are both tolerant and encouraging of this noble effort of

labor, whenever it shows itself, to "obtain control" of the industries of the land.

Industrial control via labor stock ownership presenting decidedly serious drawbacks, the labor bank is offered as another means of acquiring industrial control.

From another source comes an enchanting rhapsody on this subject which runs thusly: "While the end sought in this movement is as revolutionary as any radical reformer could wish, the means for its achievement hold no threat of industrial disruption or public disorder. The movement does not look to the 'overthrow of capitalism.' On the contrary, it accepts the institutions of a capitalist society and seeks to work, through capitalistic methods, toward a new social order"—in other words, it (the aforesaid movement) seeks, as Marx puts it, to accomplish the emancipation of the working class "behind the back of society," and by a method so painless that the expropriated capitalist does not know what is happening to him!

Since, however, the working class receives in wages but a small part of the wealth it produces, and is expected under this plan to buy back very much with that little; and since, moreover, the execution of the plan is expected of "organized labor," that is to say, the present American trade union with its craft divisions and jurisdiction squabbles, with its utter lack of social outlook and consciousness of class interests, its ineptness, a more or less amorphous mass opposed by a well-organized thoroughly classconscious capitalist class, the prospects of success through this plan do not look very encouraging.

From still another source comes the announcement that labor banking has been proven an eminent success, for (so the tale runs) after five years of operation the Amalgamated Bank of New York has increased its resources from two million dollars to nearly eleven million now. By the defenders of the labor bank theory this is referred to as "some record" and it is asserted that this "success" means "increased ability to serve those in whose interests it was founded." To show where this leads, one of the "labor banks," the one established by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, investing heavily in West Virginia non-union coal mines, got into serious difficulties, and the members of that organization were by action of a national convention saddled with heavy assessments to make good the losses sustained in the endeavor to gain industrial control.

Nor does this exhaust the efforts to use the labor movement as a means for chasing iridescent soap bubbles.

The American Federation of Labor has recently entered the life insurance business by organizing the so-called "Union Labor Life Insurance Company" of which Mr. Matthew Woll, one of the vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor, is president. Mr. Woll never fails to speak in glowing terms of the wonderful benefits that would accrue to the workers if they would join his particular insurance concern, the objective of which (in his own words) "is to place a Union Labor Life Insurance policy in every worker's home." The prospect of writing millions upon millions of life insurance policies, is so overwhelming

ingly pleasing, and promising such a harvest of shekels, as to make any insurance agent dizzy, especially if at the same time he happens to be a faithful labor lieutenant of the capitalists of industry. For such a scheme has a two-fold advantage to its sponsors: On the one hand it promises immense profits to the labor fakers; on the other hand it binds the worker thus ensnared even more securely to the chariot wheel of capitalism by filling him with a false sense of security, thus rendering him a still more helpless victim of capitalist exploitation.

Finally, the suggestion is made that through cooperative movements the workers may cast off the shackles of wage slavery. In other words, it is argued that if the workers would organize cooperative factories, operate cooperative stores, build cooperative apartments, and so on ad infinitum, they would gradually supplant the capitalist class and, lo, stand delivered from poverty and oppression. The inherent absurdity of this scheme should be apparent to anyone with the slightest inkling of the nature of capitalism, and to one who understands the law of value it becomes clear that activities along this and similar lines can result in one thing only, namely a lowering in the value of labor power with a corresponding reduction in wages.

It should be obvious, therefore, that all these undertakings, if they succeed in a business sense, under our present social order must fit in and become part of the capitalist machine, which means that they become instruments to be used against the revolutionary labor movement. It should be equally obvious that the

workers, in so far as they erect such institutions, give pawns to the capitalist foe, pawns that may be raked in at any time in case of serious conflict by means of legislative and judicial action so long as the capitalist class holds the powers of state.

Karl Marx, in his brilliant monograph, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," referring to the demoralized condition of the Paris proletariat following the unsuccessful (1848) insurrection, in which over 3,000 insurgents were massacred and 15,000 were subsequently transported without the formality of a trial, makes this profound observation:

"The more important leaders of the proletariat, in its councils, and the press, fall one after another victims of the courts, and ever more questionable figures step to the front. It partly throws itself upon doctrinaire experiments, 'cooperative banking' and 'Labor Exchange schemes'; in other words, it goes into movements in which it gives up the task of revolutionizing the old world with its own large collective weapons, and, on the contrary, seeks to bring about its emancipation behind the back of society, in private ways, within the narrow bounds of its own class conditions, and, consequently, inevitably fails."

Marx here utters a powerful warning against all such schemes as have been enumerated in the foregoing. The plain inference of his prophetic warning is that when the revolutionary clan of the labor movement has for the time being spent itself and when, in conse-

quence, the pulse of the movement is low, all sorts of so-called panaceas come crowding to the front, aiming to bring about the emancipation of the proletariat "in private ways" and "behind the back of society," in such ways as might escape the attention of the ruling capitalist class.

But though the labor movement may at the moment appear to have reached a low ebb, it is by decree of social evolution inherently revolutionary whether present participants realize the fact or not, for the working class is historically destined to put an end to the capitalist social order and usher in the next in the order of succession—the Socialist Industrial Republic, which change, painless or otherwise, implies a revolution.

The bourgeoisie, in the days of its emancipation from the trammels of feudalism, could and did make its revolution AFTER it had acquired property and thereby economic power; but the working class cannot tread that path trying to imitate that example. Contrary to the cloudy vision of "labor bankers," of "labor insurance agents," of "employe stock sellers," and of other "cooperators," the working class has no property and under capitalism has no chance to acquire it. The working class cannot, for that reason, "buy out" the capitalist class either openly or "behind its back."

The working class, the wealth-producing factor in society, can acquire economic power needful for its revolution only by organizing its immense numbers along lines that guarantee the control of industry when the time has come to "take and hold" these industries on behalf of the proletarian revolution.

When that moment comes it will be of no avail to have labor banks, union insurance schemes, or stock-owning employes; but it will be of the utmost importance to have the working class solidly and effectively organized to carry on wealth production and save society from anarchy and chaos.

The revolutionary industrial union is the shaft of the lance, and its spearhead is the revolutionary political party of labor. The head of the lance and the shaft of the lance belong together, for only in combination do they form a complete instrument to be wielded by the powerful arm of the working class.

It is in view of all these considerations that the Socialist Labor Party, assembled in National Convention this 15th day of May, 1928, calls upon the American working class to set its face sternly against all these property-acquisition lures as a means of bettering the condition of labor, to say nothing of its emancipation from wage slavery under capitalism; these schemes, while they may and do provide soft berths for needy labor fakers, cannot and will not benefit either the working class or the labor movement. On the contrary, by holding out false hopes, diverting attention from the real issue between capital and labor, and by corrupting a part of the working class through bribery fostered by such institutions, considerable harm is done to the movement of labor. The class struggle, however blurred its lines may be today, is a fundamental fact and is irrefragable; being a fundamental fact it must and will eventually break through all the barriers artificially erected to confine it and in the end

bring the two antagonistic forces in modern society, capital and labor, face to face and ready to come to grips.

I.

Resolution on War Preparations Amid Universal Declarations for Peace.

Ever since the conclusion of the World War, the horrors experienced by the human race during that bloody conflict made it incumbent upon the powers that be to profess a great love of peace. During the war it was "a war to end war," and after the war, when the antagonism inherent in capitalist society unmistakably raised its head at the very peace table at Versailles, strenuous efforts were made to convince the world that the preservation of peace was the sole aim and purpose of the capitalist powers. The League of Nations was founded and its Covenant was to be the iron-bound promoter of world peace, and then followed almost throughout Europe a comet's tail of peace pacts, non-aggression treaties, which, each of them linking together some states to the disadvantage of others, bore within them the germs of war. The very Treaty of Versailles, euphemistically referred to as a Treaty of Peace, by balkanizing Eastern Europe, breaking asunder countries which, after a fashion at least, had been economic and industrial units, and trading their peoples like so many head of cattle, planted the seeds of future armed conflicts.

As a sort of crowning effort to insure peace for Europe came the so-called Locarno treaties, a series of

pacts by which the powers agreed through a variety of stipulations to maintain peace even if they had to fight for it by chastizing a peace-breaking aggressor.

Of late the United States has entered the lists with a program of "outlawing" war, at first between this country and France, and then, by extending the principle, proposing to take in the other chief capitalist world powers, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan, but the reservations demanded by France pleading her commitments under the League of Nations Covenant and the Locarno and others of her minor and often secret treaties with minor European states have so far led to nothing but endless negotiation.

Side by side with peace pacts and peace treaties has run what is known as the disarmament movement. Starting with the Washington Conference to limit battleship construction and apportion to each of the maritime nations a certain ratio in such vessels, and then, continuing at Geneva to take up the matter of cruisers and other smaller war vessels, the conflicting interests of the United States and Great Britain brought the attempt to limit sea power to an untimely and unsuccessful end.

More recently another conference was held at Geneva, the avowed purpose of which, judging from the name given to the gathering, was to disarm. Like the preceding Geneva conference to limit sea power it ended in a fiasco. Soviet Russia alone among the assembled powers proposed the complete abolition of all armies and navies within the space of four years and so shocked the alleged Disarmament Conference

that it broke up without accomplishing anything toward its professed purpose, the only countries siding with Russia being Germany and Turkey, the former because she is already disarmed under the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty, and the latter because she could only be the gainer if, relatively small and weak as she is, prospective and more powerful aggressors against her could be prevailed upon to disarm.

The capitalist-controlled nations understand full well that their conflicting material interests make of peace a pious pretense and eventual war a certainty. They understand also that it is good policy for the time being to placate the rather strong peace sentiment among their peoples, hence all this burning of incense on the altar of peace. They know that in order to maintain an exploitative social system foreign markets are a necessity, and that these must be protected, by force of arms if need be; that raw materials for their industries are likewise a necessity and if not found within their own borders must be procured elsewhere, by force of arms if there be no other way; that each of them seeks to control what the others covet and that under such conditions real disarmament based upon the expectation of eternal peace is to them a delusion and a snare they are not likely to fall into; and they know, moreover, that sooner or later the time will come when they may have to keep their own people in check by overawing them with the threat of military force.

Knowing all this, they do not intend to disarm. On the contrary, despite all this peace talk they constantly are on the watch to acquire

new death-dealing inventions and to make war more "decisive." One has but to read the theses of the militarists published in their professional journals to know what they mean by "decisive." In essence it means largely disregarding contending armies and paying closer attention to the civilian, non-combatant population of the "enemy" country concentrated in large cities and industrial centers; to rain death and destruction upon them from the air by means of poison-gas bombs, which, so we are assured, will wipe out the people of a large city in a few hours; to break the "will to win" of the enemy nation in the shortest possible time, which, so we are told, is the most humane and most modern way to wage war; in short and in fire, so to conduct a future war that even the wholesale slaughter of the World War will pale into insignificance.

In Europe, with the German armed forces reduced to 100,000 by the Versailles stipulations, there are today more men under arms than there were in 1914. In America we have but recently witnessed the proposal by the Secretary of the Navy of a shipbuilding program that was to have made American sea power superior to any. True, it did not yet pass, but it shows which way the wind is blowing and what is in store for the working class if this murderous capitalist system is permitted to continue. The American working class may as well make up its mind that capitalism and peace do not and will not go hand in hand; that, on the contrary, capitalism must and will produce war; also that, if and when war comes, it will be impossible to confine it and that it

will mean a world conflagration.

In the light of all these considerations and prompted by the knowledge that in the working class of the world alone resides the power to prevent such a world catastrophe, the Socialist Labor Party of America, in national convention assembled this 13th day of May, 1928, holds that upon the working class of America rests a grave duty. By virtue of its immense numbers and by virtue of the fact that it operates the greatest and most efficient wealth-producing machine the world has ever seen, it can if it will become a leader of and an inspiration to the working class of the world in the struggle for working class emancipation. But to become both a leader and an inspiration it must first become conscious of its class position in society, rid itself of the benumbing capitalist ideology with which the mass of its members is still imbued, clearly perceive the historic mission social evolution has assigned to it, a mission still further enhanced by strategic geographical position and the immeasurable potential power at its command, and speedily proceed to make that power actual by organization on the political and the industrial field. The very presence of such working class political and industrial organizations, so constituted as to render them equal in power, at least, to the combined capitalist forces, could and would make impossible any attempt to start a world conflagration. And if nevertheless such a war broke out the workers, by reason of their superior numbers and industrial organization, could turn that war into a war for the emancipation of their class, and the final emancipation of

the human race from all wars and class conflicts, establishing a society with true democracy in government, genuine brotherhood in society, real equality in rights and privileges, and with harmonious relations established among all the producing masses of the world.

J.

Letter of Acceptance of Verne L. Reynolds, Socialist Labor Party Candidate for President of the United States.

Comrades of the Socialist Labor Party:—

The sudden, untimely and heroic death of our beloved Comrade Frank T. Johns, your chosen candidate for President of the United States at the 17th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, has caused you to call upon another, myself, whom you had chosen as your vice-presidential candidate, to wear his mantle. Knowing that your having so honored me is proof that you consider me fitted to carry the message of Socialism to the working class of America in the convincing manner that you are entitled to expect, I feel in duty bound to accept this greater duty.

I am well aware of your reason for choosing me. It is because I unqualifiedly accept and believe in the principles, policies and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party; further because, once a farmer, for a time a coal miner, and for many years a steamfitter, I am myself a member of the working class to which I shall appeal, and have lived through the varied experiences of low wages, un-

employment and futile strikes in the craft unions—the American Federation of Labor—of today; because recently as a newspaper man I have been made conversant, at first hand, with the no less serious problems of the so-called "bram worker" who, totally unorganized and therefore not misled by false labor leadership, is devoting considerable thought to his precarious position; and because through membership in the Socialist Labor Party and access to its literature, my study of history, sociology and political economy, from the standpoint not of profits but of labor's welfare, has equipped me to deal with such subjects in a manner that will simplify and not befuddle. It is then, rather with a sense of pride in the source, and security in the power, of my knowledge, than in fear of any opponent, that I prepare for this campaign.

It now devolves upon me to place before you a brief summary of the message to the working class that I as your messenger will present during this campaign.

History, studied from the angle of the material forces at work, teaches us that social systems are subject to the same natural laws as organisms in the animal and vegetable kingdoms; that our code of morals, the purpose and the forms of our organizations, our political concepts, our very government, our literature, in fact all our institutions and traditions must adapt themselves to changing methods of production and distribution; that when social systems become old and function poorly, refusing to adapt themselves to such changes, they die as does the non-adaptable animal or plant—not,

however, before giving birth to a new order higher in the scale of social development; that therefore the near future of the present social order, capitalism, is to be found by the study of present industrial activities and recent changes; that also, if we would know the aspects of the next social order we must study the present, the parent order, as we would, if we wished to know what the young would be like, study the sire and dam in the animal world; and that therefore the structure of the future society (Socialism), together with the means for the overthrow of the present society (capitalism), is to be found not in the various schemes of men, nor in importations from countries having a different productive system, but through careful study, in any given country, of the framework of the present productive order—in our case the factory system.

So in this campaign I shall place upon the table for dissection and examination the highly developed industrial and financial capitalism of the United States of America. A brief glance at one factor, its aged helplessness, must suffice now.

This nation, because of "our" victory in the World War, is now enjoying the "greatest period of prosperity the country has ever known." The same capitalism that broke down in 1907, and remained broken until 1914, has staged a comeback. Prior to 1907 machine production, together with the inability of the workers with a mere "living wage" to purchase more than a small share of their product, had filled the world so full of unmarketable good things to eat and wear and good homes to live in, that unem-

ployment, eviction and starvation—complete breakdown—was the result. The wheels of capitalism ceased to turn. We suffered from what a sane person would think a blessing—an over-supply of good things, "overproduction." The suffering lasted until 1914 and bade fair to end capitalism. Then the wise heads of world finance pushed us into the war which in any event was inevitable under the capitalist system—a war that destroyed these good things, together with untold human life, and the wheels of industry began to spin producing more. Once again, because we were madly destroying them, we workers began to get food, clothes and shelter to the same extent as before, "a living." Capitalism's regular cycles, panic to boom and back to panic, began all over again. We are now, in this latest cycle, at the very peak of the boom stage; let us discuss it. Most particularly should we, because capitalism's plea for re-election will, without doubt, be based upon "our" prosperity!?

Since the last election the owners of our giant corporations have profited more from labor's toil of brain and muscle than ever before in history. Wall Street stocks at this writing are still booming. For several years, first stock dividends and then cash dividends upon such watered stock have been the rule rather than the exception for nearly all classes of big business. Dollars have turned into thousands and thousands into millions—for a few. Great is "our" prosperity! Greater by far even than in 1905-6-7! However, there is nothing strange in this recovery, this boom, these stock and cash distributions to our capitalists. From panic

to boom is the usual course. Then, just as usual, comes the other half, from boom to panic. Is there then anything unusual now—anything very unusual? And if so what does it signify?!

Yes, there is something very unusual about "our" present "prosperity." To find it and the effect we may expect from it we must study the history of former booms and the crises which followed, as might follow today. For one thing a genuine market, found heretofore, has positively not been found for present products. In the absence of that market our corporations have to the tune of nine billions of dollars said to us, "Never mind the money, give us your promise to pay—but take away these goods." The same treaty has been made to foreign peoples for twelve or thirteen billion dollars, a heretofore unheard of amount. Almost the entire disposal of our surplus goods has been upon a credit basis. Yes, this is very unusual! It is more unusual still that the working class has been the recipient of an unusually large share of this credit. Pianos, radio sets, washing machines, victrolas, automobiles, even houses and lots have been sold to workers. Such workers are not only "broke" but mortgaged for years ahead, with nothing to depend upon but their wages to clear off the debt. This is fine for all concerned so long as the wages come in. But suppose unemployment starts! Then we see all these things start back, in the wrong direction, toward the factories. When this occurs there is first more unemployment, then a crisis ahead. This enormous extension of credit to workers, who without it could not have purchased, is peculiar

to this boom alone. Our workers face the future with nothing but debts; our capitalists with terror at the loss of a settlement they hardly hope to receive, either at home or from abroad.

Yes, there is much unusual about our present "prosperity." Some of it can best be found by studying the history of the crises which followed other booms. There were about 4,000,000 unemployed in the crisis preceding the World War. In the "slight readjustment," the "partial deflation of values"—principally wages—to which we were subjected in 1921 there were nearly 7,000,000; almost twice as many. But these were "panics," "crises," "depressions." Today, estimates of capitalist politicians themselves place the unemployment in the United States as high as 8,000,000. And this is no panic, but a boom! Therein lies the difference! Eight million unemployed and the industries running full blast!

"For every jag there is a headache." If this be the jag what will the headache be like? If this be the boom what will the crisis, sure to follow, bring in its wake? For the last four periods of depression, unemployment figures have doubled each time; will they double once again? Can we doubt it when the unemployment during our present "prosperity" is higher than at the worst stage of the last depression? Will we workers stand idly by until machinery does every last bit of the work and all of us are out of a job, or will a crisis of twelve to sixteen million jobless teach us our lesson? Will we stand for twice or thrice the misery of the last depression? No,

comrades, the coming one is the last great breakdown of capitalism—there will be no recovery! The reason is a psychological one. That reason is Russia! Successful Russia!

Russia has created a new psychology in the world of labor. The breakdown that could only be remedied by the World War found a world-wide "radical" movement, a "reform" movement of labor which, rendering lip service to Marx and calling itself Socialist, taught that the end of the present order was far, far in the future; that the attention of the workers could best be directed toward bettering their condition now, under capitalism. When the last breakdown came these cowardly reformers turned into "social patriots," each for his "fatherland" or his "country" rather than his class and, without unions built for power rather than "bargaining," were helpless to prevent the war they had sworn should never happen—the war that saved capitalism by destroying goods and killing the unemployed who were turned into soldiers. What other psychology could such a mushy reformism develop! Yet such traitors falsely labeled themselves "Socialists."

It is different now. The example of Russia has proven that the working class and the peasants, properly and, for that nation, fittingly organized in workshop and on the land, economically and in a political party, had the almighty power to effect and consolidate the revolution. Once our workers see the coming complete collapse of capitalism around their very ears, as Russia saw the collapse of her semi-feudal order, they can be expected, in the light of the new psychology that Russian permanence

has molded the world over, to turn to REVOLUTION for the solution and join with us for the final elimination of capitalism, the monster that at first periodically, now permanently starves us in the midst of and because of plenty; and also for the elimination of the variety of "wisdom" that destroys men and goods in warfare to continue a system that long ago fulfilled its every useful purpose and is now rotten to the core with evil.

With this new revival of hope to be found on every hand, this time a hope based upon actual performance and permanence, there are still a few mangy curs, hiding their scabby intellectual nakedness in a red cloak borrowed from this self-same Russia, and calling themselves now, not "Socialists" as when they were part and parcel of the traitorous crew above mentioned, but "Communists," who are still preaching the same pitifully hopeless doctrine of petty reforms to be tried for now; still hopelessly speaking of the same far, far distance of a new order that they, as "Social Democrats" in Europe and "Socialist party" here, taught just before the last complete collapse. Knowing less than nothing of a reconstruction program, these clowns resort to ancient slogans. "Storm the Bastille" is translated into "To the City Hall." Crying aloud for "strife and struggle" on the, as yet, unorganized field, they precipitate strikes and then when the foolish among us follow, they casually land us once again into the "safe and sane" American Federation of Labor, where we of course continue to seah upon ourselves until we lose all faith in organization. Craft unionism was always the pet of the "labor

liberal." These burlesquers of Socialism and Communism have but changed their name—the breed remains the same. They stand in the way of the Revolutionary Industrial Unionization of labor. Now that the workers are questioning capitalism itself, it shall be my duty to leave no stone unturned to denounce and expose as impostors any remnant I discover that possibly remains of this pack, that I may kill the last vestige of their doctrine of despair and injure their chances for further false leadership of labor.

The time for the classconscious organization of labor into the Socialist Labor Party and into Revolutionary Industrial Unions is here. Capitalism has about run its course. Its various apologists and reformers have been discredited until the workers will have no more of them. We

now closely approach the day of our victory, the victory of the Socialist Labor Party program. If I can but succeed in making clear to those workers who come to hear our message, the analysis of the factory system of production which we know as capitalism, they will more easily be able to organize themselves, when they find they must, as this industrial system demands. So organized, and with the new psychology of confidence radiating from Russia, I fear not the coming collapse of capitalism, for Socialism will surely follow.

In the coming campaign I shall promise the workers no relief under capitalism through old age pensions, workers' compensation, government ownership, shorter hours, or any other proposed scheme whereby it is promised to make capitalism more bearable. The task, if such were

possible, of making capitalism bearable shall be left to those who profit by capitalism, and to the silly asses calling themselves Social Democrats, "Communists," "reformers," "liberals," or what they will, who aid them. I shall rather show the workers that capitalism is doomed, and my plea shall be that they organize politically into the Socialist Labor Party and economically into Revolutionary Industrial Unions for the abolition of capitalism, together with its Political State, and the erection of the Industrial Republic of Labor, where the Industrial Union itself shall be our only government.

Fraternally yours,

V. L. Reynolds.

Detroit, Mich., May 28, 1928.

K.

Letter of Acceptance of Jeremiah D. Crowley, Socialist Labor Party Candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party of America:—

I feel most keenly the great responsibility imposed upon me as one of the standard-bearers of the Socialist Labor Party, because it is requisite for one in such a position to be able squarely to explain first, our status as a political party; and, second, not only the goal the Party seeks to attain, but also the tactical methods that must be applied not only on the way to the goal but also once the goal has been attained.

The Socialist Labor Party, first and foremost as THE classconscious

political party of the working class of America, stands for a definite, conscious revolutionary purpose, the emancipation of the wage-earning class from economic bondage through the erection of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

Such a party, in the very nature of things, is the arch foe of the established order and, necessarily, will incur the fierce opposition of that order—capitalism—and its institutions, political and economic, religious and social. No matter how ignorant a ruling class may be, or contemptuous of many of its opponents, it will always instinctively scent its real mortal enemy; hence the anathema hurled at Socialism, even at the very term, the world over by the spokesmen and apologists of capitalism.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all that, it has been well said that "some day the working class will rule"—and, by assuming rulership, abolish its own class status and that of the capitalist class, transforming a class-divided society composed of rulers and ruled into a society of freemen such as the world has never before seen.

only potential power and that power can be made actual only by organization, education, discipline, and the directing will of a revolutionary purpose steering for a definite goal.

Well aware of all this, the Socialist Labor Party, AND IT ALONE, sets itself this gigantic task, and does so without illusions or delusions.

The Socialist Labor Party is consciously strong because it is consciously sound; it is built on a firm foundation of economic facts. And since it is an axiom of economic law that labor and labor alone is the sole source of all social values, the Socialist Labor Party knows that this basic economic law must eventually be reflected in social institutions which will establish as a moral law that to labor and labor alone belongs the wealth that labor produces.

Yet what do we find today in the present, the capitalist form of society, when viewed from the standpoint of such irrefutable, universal law? In America, a land most generously endowed with the natural favors of Mother Earth, what do we see and experience at the present hour? In spite of the much heralded "prosperity," dinned into our ears in season and out of season, it is conservatively estimated that over 4,000,000 workers are unemployed, a figure which Senator Shipstead subjected on the floor of the Senate to a searching examination, showing by means of government statistics properly interpreted that the real figure exceeds 8,000,000. Even if we take only the low conservative estimate of 4,000,000 unemployed, this means that approximately one-tenth of the total working population is minus employment and, consequently, minus the means to live; and if we ac-

cept the higher estimate—for which there is excellent authority — it means one-fifth.

And we have a recent report of Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, showing that eighteen per cent of his A. F. of L. disappointed scatteration crew are out of work and are unable to find any. In the face of this fact, and notwithstanding the childish "no politics in the union" slogan constantly mouthed by that organization, it sent a delegation to the Republican national convention there to beg for the insertion in the platform of a 2.75 per cent beer plank, probably so that the employed membership can pickle their unemployed sorrow.

Since 1923 only one major industry has shown an increase of employment — the building industry. All others, including manufacturing, railroading, mining and agriculture, have shown a loss. Such a situation has heretofore always been associated with industry prostrate, with factories shut down and with nation-wide depression, but today it seems that the present unemployment situation is the result of our "prosperity," that is to say, we have an ever rising industrial output accompanied by a decline in employment! In other words, the class that owns the industries, the capitalist class, has continued to revel in prosperity, while the suffering of the working class has increased.

It is estimated that the number of factory workers has decreased since 1923 about fifteen per cent, while factory production has generally been maintained to date up to the level of 1923, with periods in between exceeding the 1923 level. Then, too,

it is estimated that approximately 1,000,000 of our rural population have migrated to our cities and industrial centers since then.

In the face of this awful predicament of the wage earners in general, to say nothing of the barbarous treatment accorded the coal miners, whose labor is so essential to keep our precious civilization going, and when miners' lives are continually being snuffed out in real infernos that make Dante's imaginary inferno look like a midsummer night's dream—in the face of such facts, what will, what MUST the working class do?

The working class is not the only portion of the population that is suffering from the breakdown and disintegration of the capitalist system. The farmers and middle class are also feeling the effects. The condition of the farmers and the number of business failures, as reported in the United States Statistical Abstract, are depicted in these facts: During the period 1920-1926 the value of farm properties fell \$20,263,000,000; and we find that the number of commercial failures in 1926 was 21,773, involving a loss of nearly \$5,500,000,000. For the nine months from January 1 to September 30, 1927, the number of commercial failures was 17,333, involving over \$4,000,000,000, and with three months more to be added, the 1927 total will without doubt be greater than in 1926. And all this, to repeat, was during a most "prosperous" period—prosperous, that is, for industrial and financial top-capitalism.

Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party can stay or prevent the disintegration besetting the

capitalist system, nor can or will they prevent its crimes, seeing that both parties are its products and at the same time its guardians.

As to the so-called Socialist party with its "government ownership" nostrums, it may be observed that the capitalist Political State was not instituted nor can it be shaped to manage industry; it had its origin in the rise of private property as an institution and throughout the ages has functioned as THE protector of that institution. That institution implied the existence of classes, of rulers and ruled, and it became the business of the Political State to hold in subjection the ruled for the benefit of the rulers. By its very structure and functions, the Political State is unfit to manage industry, and a political party claiming to be Socialist, which makes "government ownership" its paramount issue, belies and mocks the very name it falsely sails under. Such a party stultifies itself.

The so-called Workers (Communist) party, aping its parent Socialist party in calling for immediate reforms, has as its object to put over on the American workers a "dictatorship of the proletariat" suited to Russia and other foreign countries largely peasant, but not to industrial America. American capitalism has attained the highest development, has perfected a production machine of unprecedented efficiency, and in America, therefore, the lay of the land is such that the working class can take and hold and run that production machine the moment the working class but wills it and is mentally and organizationally ready for the fulfillment of its historic mission, namely, to inaugurate the social re-

volution and bring with it the new society.

Again, I ask, what must the American working class do in face of the facts here depicted? Upon what grounds can either the Republican, the Democratic or any of the reform or freak parties ask your suffrage? Will you, the working class, again go to the ballot box and again sustain capitalism and all its works by means of that preponderance of votes which your numbers alone make possible? Will you again endorse capitalism at the polls and again more closely rivet the chains it has placed upon you? Or will you, as liberty-loving men should, heed the clarion call of the Socialist Labor Party?

All political parties grow and develop out of the economic conditions of their time. It is so with the Socialist Labor Party, which is but an American product of twentieth century capitalism. As Benjamin Franklin said: "You cannot solve an economic question until it finds a political expression, and once that is found its solution is not far distant."

The Socialist Labor Party is but the political expression of the economic question that confronts the wage earning class of America, and the Socialist Labor Party is the only party that meets the needs of my economic interests as a wage worker; that is why I consciously subscribe to it.

Since we who are within the Party needs must do the work necessary to the final consummation of its aims, and since, moreover, those within have honored me by making me one of the Party's standard-bearers, I shall to the best of my ability try to

rally our class to the banner of the S. L. P.

To sum up: Instead of political government based upon territorial demarcations, with the institution of private property in the means of production as its cornerstone, we aim at Industrial Government, based upon industrial demarcations, which will administer things and not seek to rule men, under which all the people will own the land and all the industries.

To carry on the battle toward that aim we must proceed along political lines in order to proclaim and assert our interests and our rights in the peaceful contest of the ballot box. But we must at the same time organize our immense numbers on the industrial field in order to acquire the economic power to enforce the fiat of the ballot should the ruling class undertake to question or pervert the verdict; and, most important of all, in order to build up the framework of the coming social order, the integral industrial organization of the workers that will "take and hold and carry on" when the time has come to put an end to capitalism and the capitalist system — and with it to the worst plague any slave class has ever suffered, the denial of the right to earn an honest living.

Fraternally,
Jeremiah D. Crowley.
Howlett Hill, N. Y., June 15.

L. Socialist Labor Party Vote, 1928 National Campaign.

Presidential Vote.

| | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Connecticut | 622 |
| Illinois | 1,812 |
| Indiana | 645 |
| Iowa | 230 |
| Kentucky | 338 |
| Maryland | 906 |
| Massachusetts | 773 |
| Michigan | 799 |
| Minnesota | 1,921 |
| Missouri | 340 |
| New Jersey | 500 |
| New York | 4,211 |
| Ohio | 1,515 |
| Oregon | 1,564 |
| Pennsylvania | 380 |
| Rhode Island | 416 |
| Virginia | 179 |
| Washington | 4,068 |
| Wisconsin | 381 |

Total 21,600

In California, as WEEKLY PEOPLE readers have already learned from the wrathful letter of Comrade R. W. Stevens of Los Angeles which appeared in the issue of February 16, the S. L. P. was credited with only six votes written in for H. Morgan, two in Los Angeles and four in San Francisco. "The reactionary lickspittles of capitalism," wrote Comrade Stevens, "that served on the election boards throughout the state simply did not count our votes," which is perfectly obvious when one compares this measly six with the number of S. L. P. members in California, not to mention the sympathizers of whom

there are many known. In fact, Comrade Morgan, writing to the WEEKLY PEOPLE immediately after election, reported that in Precinct No. 32 in Berkeley three S. L. P. votes were cast, and in Precinct No. 149 in Oakland there were two, while Alameda Co. had 13 written in for Morgan. Thus in two single precincts and one county, quite outside of Los Angeles and San Francisco where is the Party's main strength, nearly three times as many votes were cast for the S. L. P. as were credited to it for the whole state.

Vote for State Candidates.

CONNECTICUT.

Governor, Olean, 617. Vote received by other S. L. P. candidates for state offices not recorded.

ILLINOIS.

U. S. Senator, G. A. Jennings, 1,463; Governor, J. C. Proctor, 1,361; Lieutenant Governor, F. W. Slimbaugh, 1,433; Secretary of State, W. F. Alexander, 1,478; Auditor of Public Accounts, Abe Cohen, 1,634; State Treasurer, H. R. Bloemsma, 1,502; Attorney General, Frank Schnur, 1,407; Congressmen at large, Jas. S. O'Rourke, 1,394, and Thomas Buckley, 1,340; Trustees of University of Illinois, Mrs. D. Bergstrom, 1,897, Margaret Bojja, 1,587, and Henry Schilling, 1,626.

INDIANA.

Chas. Ginsberg, U. S. Senator, 443; Cassimer Benward, Governor, 424; Chas. Lynch, Secretary of State, 431.

MARYLAND.

Robert W. Stevens, U. S. Senator, 1,370.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Stephen J. Surridge, Governor, 1,374; Henry C. Hess, Lieutenant Governor, 3,430; Oscar Kinslas, Secretary of State, 5,096; Charles S. Oram, Treasurer, 3,748; Morris I. Becker, Attorney General, 4,219.

MICHIGAN.

David Boyd, U. S. Senator, 689; Paul Dinger, Governor, 654; Theodore Gramaticoff, Lieutenant Governor, 674; Logan Cunningham, Secretary of State, 696; G. N. Spersedon, Attorney General, 763; Joseph Vers, State Treasurer, 734; John W. Tunkel, Auditor General, 704; D. Pankoff, Congressman 1st District, 51; J. K. Horvath, Congressman 13th District, 63.

MINNESOTA.

Governor, Harris A. Brandborg, 3,279.

MISSOURI.

U. S. Senator, Cox, 257; Governor, Middlecoff, 248; Lieutenant Governor, Oberheu, 257; Secretary of State, Aberle, 229; State Auditor, Moliniaux, 241; State Treasurer, Wagner, 243; Attorney General, Baeff, 300.

NEW JERSEY.

Frank Sanders, U. S. Senator, 280; J. C. Butterworth, Governor, 220; Harry Santhouse, Congressman 7th Dist., 102; Member of General Assembly, Passaic Co., 109.

NEW YORK.

Charles H. Corrigan, Governor, 4,213; John E. De Lee, Lieutenant Governor, 5,198; Henrietta Silver, Comptroller, 6,733; Simeon Bickewat, Attorney General, 5,701; Henry Kuhn, U. S. Senator, 5,543.

OHIO.

John D. Goerke, Governor, 1,272;

A. S. Pickett, Lieutenant Governor, 1,179; R. H. Richardson, Secretary of State, 1,217; Frank Kalece, Auditor of State, 1,265; George Grummitt, Treasurer of State, 1,153; Ellis J. Morrow, Attorney General, 1,284; James Goward, U. S. Senator (full term), 1,384; Anna K. Storck, U. S. Senator (short term), 1,389.

OREGON.

A. A. Hoglund, State Treasurer, 14,187; Carl V. Soderback, Dairy and Food Commissioner, 8,497; Upton A. Upton, Congressman 1st District, 3,973; Walter C. Cundell, Congressman 2nd District, 893; A. D. Berglund, Congressman 3rd District, 3,589.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Wm. H. Thomas, U. S. Senator, 1,234; George W. Ohls, State Treasurer, 599; Aaron Zavells, Auditor General, 587; Wm. Kruczyrna, Judge of the Superior Court, 756.

RHODE ISLAND.

Governor, Bishop, 388; Lieutenant Governor, Mathews, 383; Secretary of State, Martin, 384; Attorney General, Dana, 383; General Treasurer, McDermott, 390.

WASHINGTON.

James F. Stark, Governor, 3,343.

WISCONSIN.

Jos. Ehrhardt, Governor, 1,938; E. Wagner, Lieutenant Governor, 1,204; R. Koeppl, U. S. Senator, 3,953.

The Story of the Vote.

In studying the vote of the last election there are a number of things that appear both curious and interesting. Apparently the Socialist La-

bor Party vote has fallen off to the amount of about 15,000, (the 1924 vote was 36,428) despite a great gain in several states, particularly in Oregon and Washington. The Socialist Labor Party accepts as a fact that a party in our position, unable as yet to keep watchers at the polling place, will be counted out and counted out heavily. As a rule we make no howl about it; we accept it for the present as one of the evils with which we have to contend. We know that most people who understand the workings of the political machine make an allowance for this condition. But when things happen that are absolutely startling then they are worth drawing attention to.

Take the State of Michigan as an example. The vote of the S. L. P. is given as 799. Four years ago it was 5,330, the discrepancy here alone being enough to account for a third of the falling off in the vote. The Michigan vote becomes all the more impossible to accept when we remember our large membership in Detroit alone, and the splendid activity and response during the last few years.

Again turn to the S. L. P. presidential vote of Massachusetts. This is given as 733. Four years ago it was 1,668—a falling off of almost a thousand votes. And here enters another starter. The accredited votes of the other nominees on the S.L.P. state ticket run from 1,374 for the candidate for Governor to the candidate for Secretary of State whose vote runs up to 5,096. In Lowell, for an example, Reynolds was given 12 votes, the candidate for Governor 42, the candidate for Secretary of State 118, and the candidate for

Auditor 130. Such discrepancies are astounding indeed for S. L. P. voters who most usually vote straight tickets. Reason refuses to be satisfied with such figures.

New York also has a similar discrepancy. The presidential vote has fallen from 9,928 in 1924 to 4,211 in 1928, which is a phenomenon utterly without sense or reason. In Oregon, though the presidential vote records a substantial increase over four years ago, we have an even more startling discrepancy between this and the other candidates—the candidate for State Treasurer, for example, being credited with 14,187 as against Reynolds's 1,564.

We are forced to the conclusion that in the wild excitement of the battle between Hoover and Smith such a little thing as an S. L. P. ballot was simply thrown aside. Inquiries are being made by the Party into a number of the matters here mentioned, though it is doubtful we will get any satisfaction. It is not amiss here, however, to recall the story of Comrade Zavells of Philadelphia (told in the WEEKLY PEOPLE of December 8, editorial page) of how the votes of himself and his wife were simply thrown out and how he had to fight to get them counted.

However, taking the figures of the vote even as they stand, there are still a few matters of interest revealed by them.

The Socialist party vote nationally has dropped from 919,799 in 1920 for Debs to 267,830 in 1928 for Thomas. In a number of states this compromising vote-getting machine for lying about Socialism has lost its official standing. It will take some hardhood from now on for this gang

to sneer at the S. L. P. for its smallness. In one state at least—where it once was a "great big party," the State of Washington—it has actually less votes than the S. L. P. We miss our guess if this decoy of Socialism is not going to be entirely eliminated before the next presidential election. It has shown that it is not able to decoy the workers effectively any longer.

Turn again to the Workers (Communist) party and the figures are revealing (1924—36,386; 1928—48,397). We remember how the morning after election the *Daily Worker* announced in cross-the-page headlines: "Great Gain in 34 States." Well, in a way it did not lie. Since four years ago it was on the ballot only in 15 states, whatever votes it got in the 19 states where it appeared for the first time was surely a clear gain. But as the vote in these 19 states amounts to just about the 12,000 it has gained nationally, then the "great gain" actually reduces itself to next to nothing. And this for the party that in 1919 walked off with about half of the S. P. It should be noted, moreover, that the bulk of the W.(C.)P. vote comes from a few of the cities where they still have something of the old S. P. machine left—New York, Boston, Cleveland and Chicago in particular. In New York State, for example, we find that 8,844 of Foster's votes come from Greater New York, leaving only about 2,000 for the rest of the state, which is less than the S. L. P. vote. In any number of places Reynolds ran ahead of Foster in spite of all the ballyhoo and sensation that the W. (C.) P. attempted to stir up. The fact remains that the Workers party vote

is less than the membership - it claimed to have snatched from the S. P. ten years ago.

While the S. L. P. does not bank on the vote and while a few thousand more or less matter little at this time, yet we resent being deliberately thrown out by rascally politicians, as we unquestionably have been. New activity and greater alertness on the part of our membership are undoubtedly required.

On the other hand, the S. P. and the W. (C.) P. have drawn their

substance entirely from the hope of a great vote. The S. P. has collapsed and knows it. What the result of the vote to the Workers party will be remains to be seen. Will it be able to continue to bluff Moscow by the hope of pending revolution or even leadership of a great American mass movement? We doubt it.

The S. L. P. builds on the rock of principle. Its campaign is already in full swing.

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